

FRAGIST

December, 1920

THE NEXT CONGRESS

BY BASIL MANLY

A NEW ATTACK ON SUFFRAGE

THE THREE DEMANDS OF WOMEN TEACHERS

BY CORA McCARTY

FEMINISM AND THE RACE

BY DR. C. W. SALEEBY

THE SUFFRAGE MEMORIAL STATUES

BY IDA HUSTED HARPER

WOMAN'S PARTY CONVENTION FEBRUARY 15-19

National Woman's Party

(Incorporated 1918)

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 14 JACKSON PLACE, LAFAYETTE SQUARE, WASHINGTON, D. C., Tel. Franklin 7120
Cable Address—Woman.

OBJECT: TO SECURE AN AMENDMENT TO THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION ENFRANCHISING WOMEN

MEMBERSHIP: Open to all women who, regarding woman suffrage as the foremost political issue of the day, support it irrespective of the interests of any political party.

ENTRANCE FEE: Twenty-five cents. There are no dues.

National Executive Committee

Miss Alice Paul, N. J., *Chairman*
Miss Mabel Vernon, Del., *Secretary*
Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, Pa., *Treasurer*
Mrs. Abby Scott Baker, D. C.

Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, N. Y.
Mrs. John W. Brannan, N. Y.
Miss Lucy Burns, N. Y.
Mrs. Gilson Gardner, D. C.

Mrs. Thomas N. Hepburn, Conn.
Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, Del.
Mrs. Donald R. Hooker, Md.
Mrs. Henry G. Leach, N. Y.

Miss Doris Stevens, Neb.
Mrs. Richard Wainwright, D. C.
Miss Maud Younger, Cal.

National Committee of State Chairmen

Chairman, Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles

Secretary, Miss Mary Ingham

Alabama

Miss Sara Haardt,
903 S. Perry Ave.
Montgomery

Arizona

Mrs. Nellie A. Hayward
1305 19th St., Douglas

California

Mrs. Genevieve Allen
117 10th Avenue
San Francisco

Colorado

Mrs. Bertha W. Fowler
1225 Wood Ave., Colorado Springs
Secretary:
Dr. Caroline E. Spencer
15 E. Cache la Poudre St.,
Colorado Springs

Treasurer:

Mrs. Susie H. B. Gray
715 N. Cascade Ave.
Colorado Springs

Connecticut

Mrs. Thomas N. Hepburn
352 Laurel St.
Hartford, Conn.

Delaware

Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles
Room 4014 Dupont Bldg.,
Wilmington

District of Columbia

Miss Sheldon Jackson
14 Jackson Place
Washington, D. C.

Treasurer:

Miss Mary Dean Powell
The Concord Apartment

Florida

Miss Helen Hunt
417 West Church St.
Jacksonville

Georgia

Mrs. W. A. Maddox
38 Harralson St., Atlanta

Idaho

Mrs. John E. White
R. F. D., Twin Falls

Illinois

Mrs. Lola Maverick Lloyd
Winnetka

Secretary:

Miss Alice Henkle
5822 Blackstone Ave., Chicago

Indiana

Mrs. W. C. Bobbs
1610 N. Delaware St.
Indianapolis

Iowa

Miss Florence Harsh
(Legislative Chairman)
1805 High St., Des Moines

Kansas

Mrs. Lilla Day Monroe
909 Harrison St., Topeka

Kentucky

Miss Edith Callahan
2016 Third St., Louisville

Louisiana

Mrs. E. G. Graham
7025 Freret St., New Orleans

Maine

Mrs. Robert Treat Whitehouse
108 Vaughan St., Portland

Maryland

Mrs. Donald R. Hooker
Upland, Roland Park, Balt.

Massachusetts

Mrs. Agnes Morey
230 Buckminster Road
Brookline

Secretary:

Mrs. Thomas H. Gray, Jr.,
Brookline

Michigan

Mrs. Nelson Whittemore
2967 West Grand Boulevard
Detroit

Minnesota

Mrs. A. R. Colvin
Davern Ave., St. Paul
Secretary:

Mrs. Bertha Moller
215 Walnut St., S. E., Minneapolis

Mississippi

Mrs. Anne Calvert Neely
1702 Cherry St.
Vicksburg

Missouri

Mrs. H. B. Leavens
3126 Karnes Boulevard
Kansas City

Nebraska

Mrs. W. E. Hardy
Calvert Place,
R. F. D., Lincoln

New Hampshire

Mrs. Winfield Shaw
17 Salmon St., Manchester

New Jersey

Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins
56 E. 56th St., New York City

Treasurer:

Mrs. R. M. Laird
30 Goldsmith Ave., Newark

Secretary:

Mrs. George C. Scott
899 Valley Road
Upper Montclair

New Mexico

Mrs. Arthur A. Kellam
707 S. Arno St.,
Albuquerque

New York

Mrs. John Winters Brannan
137 E. 66th St., New York City.

North Carolina

Mrs. E. St. Clair Thompson
Spruce Pine

North Dakota

Mrs. Chas. Amidon
379 Seventh Ave. South
Fargo

Ohio

Dr. Gillette Hayden
Rector Bldg., Columbus

Oklahoma

Miss Ida F. Hasley
811 Oil Exchange
Oklahoma City
Secretary:
Miss Cora Florence Smith
Box 25 Capitol Bldg.,
Oklahoma City

Oregon

Mrs. W. J. Hawkins
571 Myrtle St.
Portland

Pennsylvania

Miss Mary Ingham
620 S. Washington Square
Philadelphia

Treasurer:

Miss Rebecca D. Ernst
111 S. 21st St.
Philadelphia

South Carolina

Mrs. W. P. Vaughan
P. O. Box 792
Greenville

Treasurer:

Miss Psyche Webster
Route No. 8, Greenville

South Dakota

Mrs. A. R. Fellows
Sioux Falls
Secretary:
Mrs. H. F. Fellows
Sioux Falls

Tennessee

Miss Sue White
Jackson

Texas

Mrs. Paul Millett
P. O. Box 1140
Fort Worth
Legislative Chairman:
Mrs. Stuart H. Lewis
709 West 22d St., Austin
Secretary:
Mrs. Lena Gardner
608 S. Adams St., Ft. Worth

Vermont

Mrs. J. Borden Estee
Montpelier
Secretary, Miss Evelyn Lease,
Montpelier

Virginia

Mrs. Sophie G. Meredith
204 East Grace St., Richmond
Secretary:

Mrs. Percy Read
Highland Springs

Washington

Mrs. Sophie L. W. Clark
5579 29th Ave., N. E., Seattle

West Virginia

Mrs. W. G. Brown
Kingwood

Wisconsin

Mrs. Frank Putnam
Public Service Bldg.
Milwaukee

Secretary:

Miss Sarah James
98 High St., Oshkosh

Wyoming

Mrs. P. E. Glafcke
1 David Apartments
Cheyenne

Secretary:

Mrs. Thomas Hunter
320 E. 17th St., Cheyenne

NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL

Chairman, Mrs. John Rogers, Jr., N. Y.

Vice Chairmen

Secretary, Mrs. George H. Day, Conn.

Miss Ella Abeel, Ill.
Mrs. Frederick T. Ackerman, N. Y.
Mrs. Robert Adamson, N. Y.
Miss Henrietta Addison, Georgia
Mrs. W. R. Alvord, Mich.
Mrs. W. D. Ascoug, Mich.
Mrs. Adeline Atwater, Ill.
Miss Mary E. Bakewell, Pa.
Mrs. M. L. Bankston, La.
Mrs. Bion H. Barnett, Fla.
Mrs. John Gordon Battelle, Ohio
Mrs. Cyrus Beard, Wyo.
Mrs. M. Toscan Bennett, Conn.
Mrs. Orlow Black, California
Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch, N. Y.
Mrs. William H. Blauvelt, N. Y.
Mrs. Howard P. Boyle, Ohio
Mrs. Alfred H. Bright, Minn.
Mrs. William Baxter Broadwell, Cal.
Reverend Olympia Brown, Wis.
Mrs. Henry Bruere, N. Y.
Mrs. Robert Bruere, N. Y.
Mrs. Dora Phelps Buell, Cal.
Miss Mary A. Burnham, Pa.
Mrs. R. J. Caldwell, N. Y.
Mrs. Annie Wells Cannon, Utah.
Mrs. John Carey, Ind.
Mrs. Joseph Carey, Wyo.
Mrs. Elinor Carlisle, Cal.
Miss Ruth Carlin, Oregon
Mrs. Margaret Zane Cherdon, Utah
Mrs. Ross A. Collins, Miss.
Miss Anna Constable, N. Y.
Mrs. Vincent Cook, Ore.
Mrs. Frank Cothren, N. Y.
Mrs. R. P. Crump, Miss.

Miss Susan P. Frost, S. C.
Mrs. Edwin C. Grice, Pa.
Mrs. Lucius M. Cuthbert, Cal.
Dr. Neva Deardorff, D. C.
Miss Lavinia Dock, Pa.
Mrs. Rheta Childe Dorr, N. Y.
Mrs. Victor du Pont, Delaware
Miss Clara Dyar, Mich.
Miss Crystal Eastman, N. Y.
Mrs. John C. Edwards, Mass.
Mrs. Henry Ess, Mo.
Mrs. Sara Bard Field, Cal.
Mrs. Robert Patterson Finley, N. J.
Mrs. Marie Moore Forrest, D. C.
Mrs. Grace Strachan Forsythe, N. Y.
Mrs. J. Andre Fouilhous, N. J.
Mrs. L. Crozier French, Tenn.
Mrs. Emma Maddox Funk, Md.
Mrs. Mary Garbutt, Cal.
Mrs. Susan Lawrence Gehrman, Ill.
Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, N. Y.
Miss Annie W. Goodrich, N. Y.
Mrs. Rena Maverick Green, Tex.
Mrs. Sarah A. Gribi, Cal.
Mrs. Jennie Law Hardy, Mich.
Mrs. F. R. Hazard, N. Y.
Mrs. William Randolph Hearst, N. Y.
Mrs. George Hendrie, Mich.
Mrs. Elton Huntington Hooker, N. Y.
Mrs. Henry E. Hovey, N. H.
Mrs. Frederick C. Howe, N. Y.
Mrs. Inez Haynes Irwin, N. Y.
Miss Ada James, Wis.
Mrs. Agnes Jenks, R. I.
Mrs. Charles E. Johannes, Neb.
Mrs. Adelaide Johnson, N. Y.
Miss Helen Keller, Mass.
Mrs. Florence Kelley, N. Y.

Mrs. Alden Potter, Minn.
Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley, D. C.
Miss Marie Ernst Kennedy, Pa.
Mrs. Charles Gilmore Kerley, N. Y.
Dr. Cora Smith King, Wash.
Miss Fola La Follette, N. Y.
Mrs. Albion E. Lang, Vt.
Miss Gail Laughlin, Cal.
Mrs. Samuel A. Lindsey, Tex.
Mrs. Edwin Lobdell, Ill.
Dr. Sarah H. Lockrey, Pa.
Mrs. Lillian M. McAdow, N. Y.
Mrs. John E. McCall, Tenn.
Miss Bernice McCoy, Idaho
Miss Belle McGibney, N. J.
Mrs. Benton MacKaye, D. C.
Miss Hazel MacKaye, Mass.
Mrs. Ida Finney MacKille, Cal.
Mrs. Lionel S. Marks, Mass.
Mrs. Marcus M. Marks, N. Y.
Miss Julia Marlowe, N. Y.
Miss Helen Marot, N. Y.
Miss Edith Wynne Matthison, Conn.
Miss Marion May, N. Y.
Mrs. Cyrus Mead, Ohio
Mrs. John E. Milholland, N. Y.
Miss Katharine A. Morey, Mass.
Mrs. John T. Morrison, Idaho
Mrs. Henry Moskowitz, N. Y.
Mrs. William Spencer Murray, N. Y.
Mrs. Meredith Nicholson, Ind.
Mrs. Mary Nolan, Fla.
Mrs. George T. Odell, D. C.
Mrs. Fremont Older, Cal.
Mrs. Marsden Perry, R. I.
Mrs. Horton Pope, Colorado
Mrs. Annie G. Porritt, Conn.

Mrs. James M. Rector, Ohio
Mrs. Isaac Reese, Tenn.
Mrs. W. H. Ridenbaugh, Idaho
Miss Ella Riegel, Pa.
Mrs. Julius Rosenwald, Ill.
Mrs. A. S. Rossin, N. Y.
Mrs. Charles Edward Russell, D. C.
Mrs. Frederick Sanborn, Cal.
Mrs. Townsend Scott, Md.
Mrs. Frances Thurber Seal, N. Y.
Mrs. Samuel Shields, Tenn.
Mrs. Elizabeth B. Shippin, Mich.
Mrs. Austin Sperry, Cal.
Mrs. Albert Steinfeld, Ariz.
Mrs. David D. Terry, Ark.
Mrs. Robert Gibbs Thomas, S. C.
Mrs. W. I. Thomas, Ill.
Dr. Clara L. Thompson, Mo.
Mrs. William B. Thompson, N. Y.
Mrs. Shelley Tolhurst, Cal.
Mrs. Samuel Untermeyer, N. Y.
Mrs. J. P. Vollmer, Idaho
Mrs. Hattie D. M. Wallis, Cal.
Mrs. Thomas F. Walsh, D. C.
Mrs. Adeline Otero-Warren, N. M.
Mrs. John Jay White, D. C.
Mrs. James Whittemore, Mich.
Dr. Marion Walker Williams, Ariz.
Miss Mary Winsor, Pa.
Mrs. Valentine Winters, Ohio
Miss Fannie Witherspoon, Miss.
Mrs. Clara Snell Wolfe, Tex.
Mrs. F. L. Woodward, Colo.
Mrs. Pope Yeatman, Pa.
Mrs. S. B. M. Young, Mont.
Mrs. Fanny Bloomfield Zeisler, Ill.

Headquarters Maintenance Committee
Chairman, Mrs. William Kent
Headquarters Secretary,
Miss Emma Wild

Legislative
Chairman, Miss Maud Younger.
Secretary, Miss Anita Pollitzer
Political
Mrs. Abby Scott Baker

Press
Mrs. Florence Brewer Boschel
Mrs. Eleanor Taylor
Mrs. Margaret Cr

Research Secretary
Miss Sue S. White

TELEPHONE MAIN 861

BRENTANO'S

BOOKSELLERS
ENGRAVERS
And
STATIONERS

F and Twelfth Street Washington

SHOREHAM HOTEL

PERFECTLY APPOINTED
AND NOTED FOR ITS
ATMOSPHERE OF
HOMELIKE
COMFORT



Washington
H STREET NORTHWEST
AT FIFTEENTH STREET

*"While you are about it,
get a good photograph"*

EDMONSTON STUDIO

1407 F Street N. W.
OPPOSITE THE NEW WILLARD HOTEL

EVERYWOMAN

should visit

*"The little shoe shop that makes happy
feet"*

VAL. RICHTER

Fashionable Feminine Footwear

1304 F STREET NORTHWEST
Next to Palace Theater

TRUNKS
SUIT CASES

PHONE FRANKLIN 545

H. W. TOPHAM

1339 F STREET N.W.

WARDROBE TRUNKS
AND BAGS

LEATHER GOODS

OUR 1921

Christmas Savings Club

STARTS MONDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1920

Yourself, your family and all your
friends are cordially invited to join

PARK SAVINGS BANK

14th and Kenyon Sts.
Washington, D. C.

Notes

Wanted—Self-Supporting Wives

Capability of self-support was declared almost unanimously to be the most desired quality in a wife by the men in a sociology class at Ohio State University during a discussion of valuable traits in husbands and wives. The women voted for business as a highly desirable occupation for husbands.

Comradeship was considered by the women an essential in the ideal husband, but was only moderately valued by the men in a wife. Both classed affection, intelligence and the desire for the love of children as essential traits. Physical attractiveness in both sexes was held most desirable, but beauty of face was only moderately valued by both men and women.

American Girls Hold League Posts

Although the United States is not a member of the League of Nations, two young American women hold important positions in the League secretariat. Miss Florence Wilson of Philadelphia, graduate of the University of Columbia, is librarian for the League. Miss Wilson's staff, composed entirely of women, includes girls from Norway, Italy, Sweden, Japan, and England. Miss Sarah Wambaugh, of Cambridge, Mass., is the other American girl holding a post under the League. She is substituting for a man member of the section of administrative commissions and minorities in charge of Saar and Danzig. She is an M. A. of Radcliffe College and has been studying political science at London and Oxford Universities for a Ph.D. degree.

Women's Non-Partisan League

A group of sixty Democratic, Republican and unenrolled women of the 15th Senatorial District in New York City, organized two years ago at the first election after New York women received the vote for the purpose of electing a Senator, irrespective of party, who would support legislation for the benefit of the people. Among these women were four members of the National Woman's Party, Mrs. Charles Beard, Mrs. Clarence M. Smith, Mrs. Robert Adamson and Miss Marion May. In the 1918, as well as the 1920, elections this group of women demonstrated that the woman's vote, properly organized, is an independent and non-partisan one, by twice defeating, in a strong Republican district, a reactionary Republican candidate for the State Senate and electing in each case a progressive Democrat. In the last election, the reactionary Senator was the only Republican in the district defeated, and that by a group of women whose membership is 35 per cent Republican.

EDITORS

FLORENCE BREWER BOECKEL.....Editor
ELEANOR TAYLOR MARSH...Associate Editor
MARGARET CRAHAN JONES

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT

HAZEL EDGAR.....Advertising Manager
ANNE T. RENSHAW....Circulation Manager

Published monthly at Washington, D. C., by the NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY, Lafayette Square.

Subscription rates, two dollars per year, in advance. Single copies twenty cents. Foreign subscription, two dollars per year, in advance.

Advertising rates upon request.

Entered as second-class matter, November 14, 1913, at the Postoffice at Washington, D. C., under the act of March 3, 1879.

Contributors' Column

Basil Manly was for some time joint chairman, with Ex-President Taft, of the "War-Labor Board." He is now a contributing editor of "Searchlight on Congress."

Caleb William Saleeby, M.D., Edin., the English authority on eugenics, has been chairman of the National Birth-Rate Commission of Great Britain since 1918. Among his other official posts is that of vice-president of the Divorce Law Reform Union, member of the Royal Institution, and vice-chairman of the National Council of Public Morals.

Mrs. Margaret Sanger's latest book, "Woman and the New Race," has just been published.

Cora McCarty, member of the English Department in Washington's Junior High School and vice-president of the Eastern conference of the American Federation of Teachers, was recently offered the second vice-presidency of the Federation, an honor which she could not accept because the Board of Education refused her a year's leave of absence.

Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, friend of Susan B. Anthony and life-long suffragist, is the author of the "Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony" and with Susan B. Anthony edited volume four of the monumental "History of Woman Suffrage to the Close of the 19th Century."

Of the "Symposium" contributors, Mrs. Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence, well known as a leader of the militant suffrage movement in England, is now lecturing in different countries on world disarmament.

Mrs. Alice Barrows Fernandez is "specialist in social and industrial relations in education" in the United States Bureau of Education.

Katharine Anthony is the author of a number of books, including "Feminism in German and Scandinavian Countries."

Vlasta Stepanova, the first woman member of the elections commission of Czecho-Slovakia, is now studying at Vassar College.

Contents

For December, 1920

Editorial	301
Cartoon	302
By Nina E. Allender	
A Woman's National Memorial	303
A New Legal Attack on Suffrage	304
Permanent Records of the Woman's Party	304
The Most Important Congress	305
By Basil Manly	
Women at the Polls.....	307
The Vote and the Race....	308
By Dr. C. W. Saleeby, F.R.S., Edin.	
Birth Control—the Fundamental Freedom	309
By Margaret Sanger	
Women Teachers Ask Three Things	311
By Cora McCarty	
Women in the News (photographs)	312
The First "Woman's Rights" Convention	313
The Suffrage Memorial Statues	315
By Ida Husted Harper	
What Next? A symposium	317
By Mrs. Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence and Mrs. Alice Barrows Fernandez	
Where are Ladies? An historical fable	320
Feminism in Foreign Countries	321
The Woman Movement in Germany	
By Katharine Anthony	
The Woman Movement in Czecho-Slovakia	
By Vlasta Stepanova	
Bills in Congress.....	325
By Sue S. White	
Women in Industry.....	325
Department conducted by Marie L. Obenauer	
Books and the Woman....	328
Department conducted by Alice Henry	

SUFFRAGIST

Official Organ of the National Woman's Party

VOL. VIII. No. 11

DECEMBER, 1920

An Editorial

A LEGISLATIVE campaign for immediate action on the enforcement bill will be begun with the opening of Congress on December 6. Maud Younger, legislative chairman of the National Woman's Party, is now on her way from California to Washington to take charge of this work.

The enforcement act introduced by Senator Watson, chairman of the Suffrage Committee in the last Senate, is now before the Judiciary Committee in that body, and its favorable report to the Senate must be secured. The measure has not as yet been introduced in the House, and in this body arrangements will be made for its introduction and for as prompt a vote as possible upon it.

The enforcement act was not acted upon during the last session because Congress had no power to consider it until ratification was completed.

The passage of an enforcement bill for the suffrage amendment is in line with the legislation following the ratification of the Civil War amendments and the prohibition and income

tax amendments. The suffrage enforcement measure is modelled upon the one applying to the amendment enfranchising the negro men of the country.

Without such an act, the only resource of

women debarred from voting, as were the women in Georgia in the last election, is to bring damage suits personally against the local officials. The state has at present no power whatever to see that the provisions of the amendment are carried out.

The enforcement bill is authorized by the enforcement section of the suffrage amendment, about which so much controversy arose while the amendment was before Congress. Repeated attempts were made to induce suffragists to accept a compromise measure leaving out the enforcement sections of the amendment, but

they always insisted, upon the advice of their lawyers, on the inclusion of the enforcement provisions as a necessary protection.

We cannot consider our work for the federal suffrage amendment finished until this enforcement measure is passed.

AN ACT TO ENFORCE THE PROVISIONS OF THE NINETEENTH AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

BE IT ENACTED, By the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled. That all citizens of the United States who are otherwise qualified by law to vote at any election by the people in any State, Territory, district, county, city, parish, townships, school district, municipality, or other territorial subdivision, shall be entitled and allowed to vote at all such elections, without distinction of sex; any constitution, law, custom, usage or regulation of any State or Territory, or by or under its authority, to the contrary notwithstanding.

SECTION 2. Every person who shall be required by law to assess, enroll or register citizens of the United States or to perform any other duty in order that such citizens may be qualified to vote; and every person who shall be required by law to receive or count the ballots of voters or to perform any other duty as an officer of any election or to certify the result of any election, shall perform the said duties without discrimination against any citizen of the United States on account of sex.

SECTION 3. Any such person who shall refuse to perform any of the said duties without discrimination against any citizen of the United States on account of sex, may be compelled to perform such duty by mandamus issued by a District Court of the United States upon relation of the Attorney General or of the United States District Attorney or by a State Court upon petition of the citizen aggrieved.

SECTION 4. Any such person who shall violate the provisions of this act shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and shall be subject to a fine of not more than \$500 and to imprisonment for not more than one year, or to both, in the discretion of the court. The courts of the United States and of the several states shall concurrently have cognizance of such misdemeanors.

SECTION 5. All laws or parts of laws in conflict with this act are hereby repealed and if any part of this act is held invalid for any reason it shall not affect the remainder of said act.



Woman's Party: "Busy!"

Drawn for The Suffragist by Nina E. Allender

A Woman's National Memorial

Millions of dollars have been spent to erect memorials to men. Smaller sums have been spent to honor women who have served the causes dear to men. For the first time, at the Convention of the Woman's Party, February 15-19, 1921, a memorial is to be erected in honor of women who served women

To Place the Statues of the Great Pioneers of the Suffrage Struggle in the National Capitol an Expenditure of Only \$20,000 Is Needed. Will You Who Have Profited by Their Sacrifices, Help to Honor Their Memory?

WHEN Susan B. Anthony knew that she was approaching death, she uttered what is recorded as her only complaint.

"Just think of it," she said, "I have been striving for over sixty years for a little bit of justice no bigger than that, and yet I must die without obtaining it. Oh, it seems so cruel!"

The vote comes to American women too late to encourage the heart of this great leader, but realization of the tragedy of her lifelong struggle for a victory she did not live to see, must give a deeper significance to the memorial ceremony with which the convention of the Woman's Party will open.

February 15, 1921, anniversary of Susan B. Anthony's birth, is the chosen date for this ceremony in honor of the suffrage pioneers. The statues of Miss Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Lucretia Mott, now in process of completion at the studio of Adelaide Johnson in Carrara, Italy, will be presented to the National Capitol on that day. Speaker Gillett, of the House of Representatives, will formally accept them for Congress. The pageantry of the occasion is being planned by Mrs. Marie Moore Forrest, member of the advisory council of the Woman's Party. Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, of Philadelphia, is chairman of the committee in charge of raising the \$20,000 memorial fund.

The formal winding up of the suffrage campaign will, after the memorial ceremony, be the concern of the convention. Reports by national officers covering every detail of the campaign for the amendment, including a detailed financial report, will be laid before the convention.

One of the picturesque incidents attending the completion of the suffrage struggle will be the awarding of miniature picket banners to every suffrage picket. This badge of honor will correspond to the prison pin now worn by

An Appeal from Alice Paul

Dear Fellow Voter:

On February 15, the 101st anniversary of Susan B. Anthony's birthday, statues of the three great pioneers, Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott, will be placed in the National Capitol. These statues, begun long ago with the approval of Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton, are now being completed in the marble quarries in Italy. They will be presented to the Capitol with a ceremony of beauty and dignity. They will be received on behalf of Congress by Speaker Gillett of the House of Representatives.

Scarcely a memorial has ever been erected to women. There can be no better symbol of the new status of women than placing these great women in the Nation's Capitol side by side with the men we honor there.

The cost of the marble, the workmanship, the transportation of the statues to America, and the organizing of the national memorial service at the Capitol will approximate \$20,000—a small sum compared with the millions spent on memorials to men.

We ask you to send a thanks-offering, in recognition of what these pioneers have done for all women, toward the cost of these statues. We ask every group of women—those in colleges, in clubs, in the professions—to show their appreciation of the debt we all owe these earlier women. Even a very little sum will help and will give you a share in this enduring tribute to the three great leaders who broke the pathway for us.

ALICE PAUL, National Chairman.

the women who served jail sentences for their suffrage principles. So that the list may be complete, every person who picketed is asked to send her name to the committee in charge of the presentation of the pins, Mrs. Richard Wainwright, Mrs. Gilson Gardner and Mrs. Nina E. Allender, at the National Headquarters.

The last days of the convention will be devoted to the consideration of the future of the Party, to discussion of suggested programs, to consideration of the work of existing women's organization, and finally to the decision as to whether the Woman's Party shall disband or continue, and if the decision is in favor of continuance, upon its program.

So that there will be no danger of duplication, representatives of other women's groups will present to the convention the work already being done by women. Among the first groups to ask the privilege of sending representatives is the Federation of Business and Professional Women. One session of the convention will be devoted to a report from foreign women of their problems. Armenian women have asked permission to present to the Party the

terrific situation of the women of their persecuted country.

Miss Sheldon Jackson, chairman of the District of Columbia branch of the Woman's Party, as credentials chairman, has notified each state chairman that her branch is entitled to one delegate for every fifty paid members, in addition to the state chairman herself. Mrs. Edmund Brennan, of Washington, is chairman of the hospitality committee and is already engaged in the tremendous task of securing housing accommodations in Washington for the delegates. Mrs. Muriel Lynch, of Washington, is in charge of the arrangements for the reception of foreign visitors. Mrs. Otto Kirchner, of Detroit, is chairman of the committee on badges.

A New Legal Attack on the Suffrage Amendment

ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS, still unwilling to bow to the will of the majority, announce that they will continue their attempts to defeat the nineteenth amendment through court action.

Another suit attacking the validity of the ratification of suffrage was instituted in Maryland the first week in November. The suit was brought by the "Maryland League for State Defense." State Attorney General Armstrong will defend the ratification of the amendment before the courts. The case was filed in the Court of Common Pleas of Baltimore City by William T. Marbury, Attorney for the Petitioners, and is known as Oscar Leser et al. vs. J. Mercer Garnet et al.

The same discredited legal arguments which have figured in the unsuccessful injunction suits, appear in this petition which is announced by the men who brought it as a forerunner of similar suits to be attempted in other states.

The suit takes the form of a petition that the court force a certain registry board in Baltimore to remove from its list the names of two women because "the persons so registered are disqualified . . . to vote."

These women are disqualified as voters, it is claimed, because the nineteenth amendment is not one which Congress is authorized to submit and because the amendment has not been properly ratified in the states of West Virginia, Missouri and Tennessee and "a number of the states of the American Union, including Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Arkansas, Maine, New Hampshire, Ohio, Iowa, Nebraska, Texas, Kentucky and others."

In brief, these are the arguments:

West Virginia's ratification is held to be null because the legislature refused to seat a member who had resigned, whose vote would have been in the negative and would have destroyed the majority of one by which ratification carried; and because the legislature refused to unseat another member whom the anti-suffragists contended should be unseated. In both the District of Columbia Supreme Court and the Court of Appeals, where this

argument was used to support an injunction against the amendment, the court denied its power to go back of the filing of the state's ratification certificate with Secretary Colby. Such matters as the seating or unseating of members were held to be within the province of the legislature and not to be interfered with by the courts.

Speaking of this attempt to upset West Virginia's ratification, State Senator Stewart, a member of the Judiciary Committee of the State Senate and a well-known lawyer in the state, says, in a letter to Miss Paul: "It is too bad that at this late date the friends of equal suffrage for the sexes are being put to the task of defending ratification. I have always considered the attack on the action by West Virginia as little short of ridiculous and felt that it would not be pressed, but apparently the opposition is determined to hang to the slenderest threads in support of its position."

In Tennessee, two points are made by the anti-suffragists' brief. In the first place, it is held that the provision of the Tennessee Constitution requiring an election to intervene between the submission of a national amendment and the legislature's action on it, made the present ratification unconstitutional.

The second argument against Tennessee's ratification is the claim that the legislature rescinded its action before adjourning. Suffragists have high legal authority, including that of Tennessee's attorney general, for their contention that the ratification holds. The decision of the courts not to go back of the filing of state certificates of ratification makes it improbable that the Tennessee case will be reopened on these grounds.

In the case of the other states mentioned, the plea is that certain provisions in the state constitutions prohibit the ratification of a national amendment changing state franchise laws.

It is probable that this latest move of the anti-suffragists will be as unsuccessful as their former attacks, but there is every necessity for vigilance in guarding the fruits of the long suffrage struggle. (Continued on page 310)

Permanent Records of the Activities of the Woman's Party

CONVENTION preparations and the final winding up of the suffrage fight now occupy the time of every department in national headquarters.

Many of the present activities are centered in the attempt to complete in permanent form the history of the great suffrage struggle. It is an achievement of which the party may justly be proud that within three months of ratification one history in book form of the militant campaign has been completed and another is nearly finished.

The militant fight of the Woman's Party campaign, vividly sketched by Miss Doris Stevens, is now before the public in her "Jailed for Freedom." Members of the Woman's Party staff contributed time and effort in the gathering together of data for this book and Miss Stevens herself gave many months of work to the writing of it. Its influence will be inestimable, for in addition to its circulation among general readers, every political leader of importance is to receive a copy, through the generosity of Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont. "Headquarters" is charged with the sale of 1500 additional copies.

The Woman's Party campaign in all its ramifications, with emphasis upon the far-sighted political strategy underlying both the spectacular and the more unobtrusive methods of the Party, is to be treated in a most exhaustive way in the history of Mrs. Inez Haynes Irwin, now being completed

by her in collaboration with the Woman's Party staff at headquarters. A year of Mrs. Irwin's valuable time has been given to the writing of this history, a magnificent contribution to the organization.

In the treasurer's office a detailed financial report of every cent raised and spent during the seven years, existence of the Woman's Party, is being compiled and audited by an auditing company. The annual reports of the Party, which in the stress of activities it has been impossible to prepare since 1914, are also now being written and will be published before the convention.

Another permanent contribution to the woman movement is the exhibit being organized under the direction of Miss Catherine Flanagan, national organizer of the Woman's Party. This exhibit, which will be displayed at "Headquarters" during the convention, will include a picture history of the Woman's Party, with photographs of outstanding events and outstanding people; famous documents, including the affidavits of prison experiences suffered by the pickets, and the President's pardon of some of the suffrage prisoners; the most celebrated picket banners, the ratification banner, and many other relics of the woman's revolution. This exhibition will be presented to one of the national museums or preserved in some other way after the convention.

The Most Important Congress in Fifty Years

As the Political Spotlight Shifts from the White House to the Capitol, Women Are Studying the Men Who Will Control National Legislation for the Next Two Years

By Basil M. Manly

ON March 4, 1921, the American political spotlight will shift from the White House to the Capitol—from the President to Congress. Instead of the brilliant narrow beam which in recent years has glared upon the star performers, Roosevelt and Wilson, the next four years will see a flood of light playing upon the "heavies" of the great political drama—the far-famed Senate Oligarchy and the leaders of the House.

This will be nothing new in American political history. Indeed, until the days when the then "Terrible Teddy" grabbed his big stick and called for the calcium lights, it was the exception rather than the rule for the spotlight to be concentrated on the Executive Mansion. Webster and Clay, Blaine and Reed loom up larger in the historical perspective than the contemporary Presidents.

It is a new phenomenon, however, at least for those whose political lives are limited to the twentieth century, for a President to wave away the bright lights and urge that Congress take the center of the stage. That is exactly what President-elect Harding has done. He has not only announced that Congress will be free from his influence and coercion in the determination of legislative policy, but further proposes to draw his administrative inspiration and guidance from the leaders of the House and Senate. Realizing his own mediocrity, he is wise enough to admit it and take refuge in the immortal stratagem of small men—"Let George do it!"

This Congress will be much more important than any Congress which has met in the last half-century, not only because of the stupendous problems which face it, but also because all responsibility for legislative initiative is thrown upon it by Harding. This means that it is the character and composition of the newly-elected Congress which women must study if they wish to know what material they have to deal with in securing the legislation and reforms they desire. During the Taft administration, it is true, Congress for a time held the center of interest. But this was because of the dramatic contests then staged in the House and Senate and not by the will of President Taft, who went as far as any other in announcing, if not in asserting, the right of the President to party leadership.

With Roosevelt and Wilson the make-up of Congress, beyond the existence of a strong party majority, was of secondary importance, because they themselves initiated and drove through Congress with whip and spur the great legislative measures of their administrations. Many Republicans under Roosevelt and many Democrats under Wilson were forced by Presidential pressure to vote for measures which they bitterly cursed in the privacy of the cloak-rooms. No one knew this situation better or made more of it than the National Woman's Party.

Against the background of executive responsibility created by Roosevelt and Wilson, Harding's "hands-off" policy is sure to be hard to maintain. The American people have now grown accustomed to turn to the White House for political relief as the Mohammedan turns to Mecca for religious inspiration. Harding is reasonably certain, therefore, to find himself in the embarrassing position of being held personally responsible for measures with which he has had nothing to do, just as Taft was pilloried for the enactment of the Aldrich tariff, of

which he had vainly tried to wash his hands. Thus it may happen that before many months have passed the twilight of obscurity in which Mr. Harding would like to remain concealed will be lighted up with the fierce glare of political indignation which blazed upon Mr. Taft when he sought to evade responsibility for the acts of Congress.

So much for the importance of the new Congress and its relations with the President. Let us now turn our attention to the 96 Senators and 435 Representatives and see what manner of men they are, individually and collectively.

The principal, if not the only, fact which the newspapers have so far recorded regarding the Sixty-seventh Congress is that it is overwhelmingly Republican by a majority of 22 in the Senate and 180 in the House. This is an enormous majority, but it is by no means as significant either for the present or

for the future as the editors would have us believe. In the first place, we need only remember that when Wilson came into power the Democrats had a majority of 163 in the House which faded completely away within four years. More than once the people have at the next election overturned Congresses whose party majorities seemed invincible. More important, however, is the fact that beyond insuring party cooperation with the President and preventing "balance of power" tactics by the progressive Republicans at the time of the organization of the new Congress, a huge party majority is of little importance.

I predict that, from the beginning of the Sixty-seventh Congress until its end, there will not be a single important measure passed or rejected by a division along strict party lines. To make such a prediction one need not be a prophet nor a son of a prophet. There has not been a vote on party lines on any important social or economic legislation for many years, and there will not be as long as the present artificial and arbitrary party distinctions continue. Democrat and Republican have long since ceased to have any meaning as designating fundamental differences of principles. The reactionaries and conservatives of the North, South East and West always stand together against the liberals and radicals, no matter what the party labels.

"The newly-elected Congress will be much more important than any Congress in the last half century, not only because of the stupendous problems which face it, but also because all responsibility is thrown upon it by Harding."

"This is the group women must study if they wish to know what material they have to deal with in securing legislation they desire."

"Except for the vocational training bill the suffrage amendment is about the only thing the Sixty-sixth Congress can boast of. There is nothing in the new Congress to indicate any greater liberality."

The most important fact, therefore, to be recorded is that the new Congress is overwhelmingly conservative or reactionary—you may choose your own terminology. To find a parallel one must go back to the days when Aldrich ruled the Senate and Cannon ruled the House. To those who watched its proceedings from day to day, the last Congress seemed hopelessly conservative. Legislation in behalf of special interests, such as the Oil Leasing Act and the Esch-Cummins Railroad Law, were given the right of way over even the mildest progressive measures like the Kenyon bill for the regulation of the meat packers, which had the endorsement of large bodies of men and women. As for the bill to protect child labor and maternity it did not even get out of committee. A bill to create a permanent Women in Industry Bureau in the Department of Labor did finally get through but with an appropriation so meager that it practically nullifies it. Except for the vocational training bill the suffrage amendment is about the only thing the Sixty-sixth Congress can boast of. There is nothing in the new Congress to indicate any greater liberality.

Of the 17 new Senators, 9 are reported to be millionaires. McKinley, of Illinois, is a banker and traction magnate. Stansfield, of Oregon, made his money in sheep and cattle, and as a livestock man will rival Senator Warren, of Wyoming, whom the late Senator Dolliver characterized as the "greatest shepherd since Abraham." Another great shepherd is Gooding, of Idaho, who made his money originally as a contractor for mining companies and is now the owner of thousands of acres of farming and grazing land. Cameron, of Arizona, Nicholson, of Colorado, and Oddie, of Nevada, are mining magnates, while Herreld, of Oklahoma, is one of the "new rich" of the Oklahoma oil fields. Broussard, of Louisiana, and Ernest, of Kentucky, are wealthy lawyers.

Of these newly elected Senators only two are pronounced anti-suffragists and anti-feminists: J. Thomas Heflin, of Alabama, whose record in the Lower House on women's legislation could not have been worse, and Thomas E. Watson, of Georgia, who has always opposed suffrage and the progressive woman's movement in general.

The position of four of the newly elected men on the details of the feminist program is so far unknown, though coming from suffrage states, they are, of course, suffragists: Ralph J. Cameron, of Arizona; Samuel D. Nicolson, of Colorado; Tasker L. Oddis, of Nevada; and Robert N. Stansfield, of Oregon. Each succeeds a good suffragist.

Senator William F. Kirby, Arkansas, was succeeded by Thaddeus H. Carraway, a former Congressman, who has been for several years one of the strong supporters of the federal amendment. Mr. Carraway also supported the bill prohibiting child labor when it was before the House.

Samuel M. Shortridge, of California, who succeeds Senator Phelan, has always been a suffragist and in-

cluded the legislative program of California women in his platform.

Frank R. Gooding, of Idaho, successor to Senator Nugent, gave strong support in the ratification campaign and both he and his wife assisted also in the other campaigns of the Woman's Party in his state.

William B. McKinley, of Illinois, a former Congressman who succeeds Senator Sherman, is a suffragist and supported the child labor bill.

The election of O. E. Weller to take the place of John Walter Smith, of Maryland, is an advance, from the woman's standpoint. Though not an active suffragist during the ratification campaign, he is a gain over Mr. Smith, who was one of the most violent anti-suffragists in his state and a most determined opponent of women's interests.

E. F. Ladd, of North Dakota, the first representative of the Non-Partisan League in the Senate, is not only an active suffragist, but has inspired many of the Non-Partisan League's policies which favor women, such as their laws protecting women in industry, and those upholding the rights of the illegitimate child. Dr. Ladd as head of the State Agricultural College, secured the enactment of the strictest pure-food regulations in the country.

Frank B. Willis, of Ohio, is a suffragist as, of course, was President-elect Harding, whom he succeeds.

J. W. Harreld, of Oklahoma, like Senator Gore, whose seat he takes, is a suffragist and helped in the ratification campaign.

South Dakota elected Governor Peter Norbeck to the Senate to succeed Senator Johnson. Both are suffragists. Governor Norbeck gave very valuable aid in the ratification at the Conference of Governors in Salt Lake City in 1919, and endeavored to secure a unanimous agreement to call immediate special sessions to ratify the suffrage amendment.

The results in the House cannot be readily estimated. Many of the old Democratic leaders, like Clark, Sherwood and Sims, have been swept away in the anti-Wilson landslide and their places taken by unknowns.

The enormous party majority in the House is sure to prove a source of real embarrassment to the Republican leaders. They are confronted with this annoying situation. There are 307 Republicans to be taken care of and only enough committee positions and patronage to take care of some 250. Those who are left out or forgotten when the pie is cut are sure to feel aggrieved and on the basis of historical experience are likely to seek their revenge in political sabotage. Such was in large measure the source of the insurgent revolt against Cannonism. Men who are mildly progressive or even a bit conservative are likely to get off the reservation and run amuck when they are left by the distributors of patronage with empty political stomachs. So it may happen that out of this seemingly ultra-conservative Congress may come a new insurgency, which under proper conditions may easily develop into a strong new party movement.

Watch Your Vote, Ladies!



A fur coat, a hot water bottle, a dictionary or washing machine, should all be eyed with suspicion near election time

Barkley in N. Y. Evening Post

Women at the Polls

REPORTS from state chairmen of the National Woman's Party in many of the crucial states seem to warrant the following generalizations about the part played by women in the last elections:

First, the woman's vote formed one-third to one-half of the total vote cast, a high percentage of the women eligible voting.

Second, women candidates for office were few and almost invariably unsuccessful; with the exception of a few women elected to state legislatures or minor county offices.

Third, women apparently voted for the same reasons and were swayed by the same issues as men, the league of nations dominating all others. In local matters women supported increased expenditure for schools and humane purposes, but did not generally initiate any reforms.

In detail, the reports are:

California: The estimated woman's vote will not be known for two months. Women voted as partisans rather than for issues. Of the four women members of the state legislature, three were reelected. A state amendment increasing the school appropriation passed largely by the work of women, but the married woman's property measure was lost because of a hard campaign by financial interests against it.

Colorado: Eighty per cent of women entitled to vote cast ballots. The state went Republican except that Inez Lewis Johnson, Democrat, was elected county superintendent of schools of El Paso County and Judge Ben Lindsey, Democrat, was elected judge of the juvenile court of Denver by the women of that city—the only Democrat elected in Denver. The Non-Partisan League scare influenced many Independents in the state to vote Republican.

Women did not initiate or refer any measures, but strongly supported measures to construct a hospital for the curable insane; to levy one mill tax additional for benefit of state educational institutions; to appropriate \$5,000,000 for good roads.

Connecticut: Estimated that from 85 per cent to 90 per cent of women who actually registered voted. Five women in all were elected to the lower House of the state legislature, four Republicans and one Democrat.

The Farmer-Labor Party nominated a woman for the United States Senate and women for other offices. None was elected. The Prohibition Party also nominated a number of women, but none was elected. Men generally voted against women candidates.

Women 40 Per Cent of Delaware's Voters

Delaware: Forty per cent of the total vote cast was cast by women. Women were instructed to get out early because of insufficient voting facilities at the polls. By 1 o'clock 60 per cent of the vote had been cast, the chief characteristic of the election being the women's intelligence in marking and casting their ballots.

Both women candidates—one running for justice of the peace and the other for representative in the assembly—were heavily defeated.

Florida: No estimate of women's votes is yet available, but the registration of women was heavy. Women candidates received encouraging vote.

Kansas: There was the largest woman vote in the history of the state because of opposition to league of nations; also to uphold Governor Allen in his domestic policies. Lorraine Wooster was reelected as state superintendent of public instruction.

Four women, three Republicans and one Democrat—were elected to the legislature. The alignment of women in old parties was complete.

Louisiana: Forty-two per cent of the women eligible to vote cast their ballots. One woman, Edith Brown Dailey, was elected to the state constitutional convention. One woman, Mrs. A. E. Baumgarden, was elected to the New Orleans school board.

Maine: Approximately fifty thousand women voted. There were no women candidates.

The league of nations was the issue which resulted in a Republican victory, but women were not a deciding factor.

Michigan: No accurate estimate has been made of the woman's vote. The Detroit Election Commission reports that 89 per cent of the women registered and that 95 per cent of those registered voted.

Women were interested chiefly in the general proposition to defeat the present Administration and the state constitutional amendment against parochial and private schools.

Minnesota: There was a large registration of women. Women voted heavily and almost solidly Republican. The one woman candidate, running on the Farmer-Labor ticket, was defeated.

New Hampshire Has Two Women Legislators

New Hampshire: No estimate has been made of women's vote. The Democrats ran ten women for the legislature. Two women candidates, Mary Farnum, Democrat, and Jessie Doe, Republican, were elected to the legislature, the former in Boscaawen by a vote of 264 to 237, and the latter in Rollinsford by a vote of 257 to 245.

New Jersey: No estimate has been made of the total women's vote. In Essex County the women greatly outnumbered the men voters. Two women were elected to the legislature, Mrs. Margaret B. Laird and Mrs. Jennie Van Ness, both prominent suffragists. Both ran on the Republican ticket.

Women proved strongly opposed to the league of nations. This opposition led to the Republican landslide which resulted in the defeat of the Democratic boss of Essex County, Jim Nugent, known as an enemy of women.

Ohio: Three women were elected to important offices in three counties. Miss Mary K. Davey was elected prosecuting attorney for Hocking County, defeating her Democratic opponent—she ran on the Republican ticket—by 170 votes. Miss Florence E. Allen was chosen common pleas judge in Cuyahoga County, largest county in Ohio, defeating other candidates by more than 11,000 votes. Mrs. Abbie Nye Norton was elected probate judge in Lake County.

South Dakota: Women cast about forty per cent of the total vote. The league of nations was the issue which determined the result. Women candidates for a few minor offices were successful. A majority of the women voted for the soldier bonus amendment.

West Virginia: About 200,000 women voted—about 75 per cent of women registered.

Virginia: No estimate has been made of the number of women who voted; 100,000 registered. Women helped to pass the law providing for women members of the school board. No women candidates ran for office.

Vermont: Thirty-three and one-third per cent women registered; of these, 75 to 85 per cent voted. All women candidates were elected. The issues of interest to women were general election issues, particularly the wet and dry question. Women generally were "dry." No constitutional amendment or referendum measure put through by women.

Washington: A larger proportion of women than men voted. Anna Colwell, Republican, was elected to the legislature. Josephine Corliss Preston, state superintendent of public instruction, was re-elected. Soldier bonus carried. Other women candidates defeated.

The Vote and the Race

By C. W. Saleeby, F. R. S., Edin.

THE gaining of the vote by the women of Great Britain and the United States in 1918 and 1920 respectively is a great political event. But it is also much more. Many years ago I ventured on the definition that a politician is one who is ever thinking of the next election, but a statesman one who is ever thinking of the next generation. There will be an abundance, if not a surfeit, of discussion and action by the politicians thus defined. Let us here attempt a more difficult and immeasurably more worthy task—the service of statesmanship—by asking what the political enfranchisement of woman, involving as it must and will, her economic freedom also, may specify for the race—the future, the unborn, the life of this world to come.

We must try to define our first principles, and in doing so here I am merely recapitulating the doctrine laid down a decade ago in my volume on "Woman and Womanhood," to which the reader may be referred, especially since the statement here must necessarily be brief and dogmatic in form.

First: In the evolution of sex, in both the vegetable and animal world, from the beginning, of aeonian antiquity, the female sex has ever been *the* sex, alike the main highway and the essential vehicle of life. Incomparably the highest development of this sex is woman. In her physique and her psyche, she is nature's supreme organ and trustee of the future. If she should fail in this function the race must fail, and history, rightly read, teaches that where she has failed, from whatever cause, the race has there failed, nought else conceivable availing. So long as the individual is mortal, parenthood must determine the destiny of any living race—and therefore, in the case of mankind, the destiny of all nations. Parenthood is dual and I am the last man to understate the importance of fatherhood; but nature has decreed that motherhood shall be more important, much more important still. Its racial significance and imperiousness are transcendent, and ever were and will be. In thus asserting the preeminence and racial sacro-sanctity of motherhood, I am not "dictating to women"—undoubtedly a gross impertinence, and properly resented, from anything in trousers—but simply indicating the supreme part which nature has allotted to her. No higher compliment to her sex is conceivable.

Fathers Are Not Our Only Parents

Second: The old view, which we find indicated in the dogmas of certain world-religions, that the mother is merely the vessel and nurturer of her child, whereas the father is its real parent and creator, is false. She is creatrix as he is creator. Each of us is derived equally—with the strictest mathematical accuracy—from both of our parents. We should not deceive ourselves because we usually choose to name the family after its father. Though only the paternal cognomen be transmitted, we inherit equally from both parents. The maternal stock epitomized in the maternal germ-cell, is as important as the paternal. In the interests of good breeding—or, in the technical phrase for which I am responsible, "*positive eugenics*"—it is as important to recruit the future from the mothers of fine stock as from such fathers. The leading idea of the volume above would show that the race needs the finest women to be the mothers of the future, and that no development of feminism will ultimately justify itself if that principle be ignored or outraged.²

The problem of the home is how to reconcile the unquestionable claims of woman as an individual and the no less

unquestionable claims of the race upon her. There are certain apparent solutions of that problem, now in practice, which do not solve, but simply evade it. We seem to be on the way toward the hope that the beehive may serve as a suitable model for mankind and the structure of an enduring human society. In the bee society, the highest development of the individual, by far, is found in females who are not mothers. They have renounced maternity, as it were, and have become masterpieces of life, in their marvellous instincts, their courage, their devotion and unselfishness. The so-called "queen," the only mother in the hive, is, to speak frankly, a fool, incapable of looking after herself, and so far from being a queen, does not direct or control the least of her own activities, to say nothing of those of the hive or any individual in it.

Mothers Should Not Be "Queen Bees"

Mankind might, perhaps, evolve some analogous form of socio-racial structure. The highly educable and educated women, the most intelligent, provident, and active, might put maternity on one side, leaving that function to the inferior members of their sex. Something of which that is no unfair description, is what we increasingly see around us today in the leading nations of the world, which speak "the tongue that Shakespeare spake." My own oft-reiterated belief is that along these lines is the least happiness of the greatest number of individuals and the scantiest prospect for the future quality of the race. The success of the hive is no safe indication for a race that relies not upon instinct but upon intelligence, which varies widely in different individuals and is most markedly hereditary. Whatever may be well for bees, mankind needs the finest women to be the mothers of its future.

Observation of individuals shows, further, that nature is not so perverse or ambiguous in her demands as we might suppose. For the vast majority, not least of the finest women, motherhood not only serves the race through them, but serves them as individuals their personal happiness and completeness, their physical and psychical health and length of days. Only too many women have learned this truth too late.

Surely we must stick to our principles, and mayhap we shall find ourselves coming out right in the end, both for the individual and the race. Woman can, must and will use the vote for the protection of the home and the family, of youth and the race. If she finds—as indeed needs no finding—that present economic practice heavily handicaps her in many ways, but never so heavily as when she is discharging her supreme function of maternity, she must and will rectify the economics which are, indeed, so uneconomic, so spend-thrift of individual and racial welfare.

Asserting the truths above defined she must and will say that, if money rightly exists for anything at all, it exists for the protection of motherhood, upon which national and racial destiny depend. She will say, and "*Say it with votes*," that, if any service be paid for, if any laborer be worthy of his hire, the supreme national and racial service of mother-

(Continued on page 319)

¹ London, William Heineman: New York, Mitchell Kennerley.

² For the superb statement of this argument from a slightly different angle we should read and re-read, Miss Ellen Key's book, "*The Woman Question*," in which that great Scandinavian thinker is revealed at her highest.

Birth Control— The Fundamental Freedom

By Margaret Sanger

I HAVE just returned from Europe, having spent six months in England, Ireland, Scotland and Germany. I return more convinced than ever before of the outstanding importance to women and to the world, of the conscious, voluntary control of the birth rate.

Economic conditions, the form of government, customs and traditions, differ in the countries I have just visited, but in all of them one thing is evident: a tremendous movement of women toward intellectual and spiritual freedom. In none of these countries has this movement reached its goal, no matter what the economic structure. In Russia, where the workers claim to have won political and economic freedom, women find themselves, according to good authority, unable to participate fully in the advantages of the new order, because they do not control the function of maternity. There is no subject about which the women of Russia more urgently seek information today than that of birth control. The same thing is true of the women of Germany, England and France.

The situation in Germany is peculiarly appalling. In spite of the last five years' desperate struggle and the lack of necessities of all kinds still existing, women have, at the command of the state, continued to bear large families. Babies have been born only to die, or to lead at best a pitiable half-existence, while authority has frowned upon the movement to prevent conception and to control birth.

I saw more than ten thousand children in Germany, hundreds of whom could hardly hold up their heads and many more who, at the age of three or four years, could not walk or use their legs.

One Saturday I visited the home of a family in Munich where the father was unemployed and the family, wife and ten children under twelve years, were subsisting upon an unemployment dole worth, in our money, about one dollar a week. The food in the house had given out on Friday, and the next payment was not due until Monday.

When I arrived one child was gnawing at the mother's breast, though her milk had long been exhausted, while another baby lay on the bed gnawing painfully, instead of food, a tiny thumb. The father had gone to the woods in a desperate attempt to find mushrooms on which they might exist over Sunday. Yet the insane cry is still—more children!

It is the women of Germany who are, and have been, the worst sufferers from the evils of war and the blockade. It is these same women through whom permanent alleviation to Germany will come. Already the women of Munich and southern Germany are awake to the horrors of their situation and they are leading in the first strike of its kind—the most fundamental of all strikes—a birth strike. Going from door to door these women are calling upon their fellow women to cease to bear children until their babies shall be assured the chance for a decent life.

The women of northern Germany have gone still further and are backing a bill before the German Reichstag which would legalize abortion. To many of us this is a most shocking proposal and one that would in any other country be in no way justifiable, but the women of Germany claim that as long as the blockade exists, which they consider still



Margaret Sanger

to be the case because of the unfavorable rate of exchange and other factors, they cannot obtain the material for hygienic cleanliness and that therefore they are entitled to make use of this means of limiting the family.

Strange to say, there are many among the medical profession of Germany who favor the abortion bill while opposing the prevention of conception. I asked one of the leading gynecologists there why he took this stand, and his reply was significant. "I am willing," he said, "to help to check our population during this period of intense struggle, but merely as a temporary expedient. Abortion is in the hands of the medical profession and therefore can be controlled. To give women the knowledge of birth control would be to place in their hands dangerous power, power which could not be recalled when conditions improve."

Leaving Germany, I traveled through Holland, where I found conditions by far the best of any country in the world, not excluding America. In Holland the laws of free press and free speech have enabled women to obtain birth control information and to attend medical clinics for expert advice on this question. As a result Dutch women participate in public activities and at the same time have a normal family life. The working woman is encouraged to marry early the man of her choice and not to have a family until the child may come into a home prepared for it.

What is the result? While the birth rate of Holland has gone down, the death rate has also been lowered, and the population increased in a ratio which does not tax the country's resources. Had this little country not limited its birth rate for the past twenty-five years, it would have been so involved that it must have lost its national existence in the turmoil of the war. As it was, the nation has, unlike most of the other warring countries, held its own through the most crucial period of its national life. Freedom of the press and of speech has been preserved. Standards of health have been improved. Conditions are today more nearly normal there than in any other European country.

country and today it is illegal not only to give birth control information through clinics, or through the mails, but even to discuss anything which would tend to sanction or encourage a reduction of the birth rate.

In England, where I lectured to working women on the subject of birth control, I found everywhere intense interest. There are no laws in England preventing the working woman from obtaining birth control information. The obstacle to its widespread use has heretofore been a peculiar prejudice on the part of the workers themselves. This feeling may be traced back to the time of Malthus who, on the basis of his theory that poverty was caused by prolific breeding, advocated continence until a late marriage and then family limitation through abstinence. This proposal of Malthus was opposed by the workers, who approved the Marxian conception of poverty as the result of the capitalist system rather than of an excess population. The economic after-the-war conditions, coupled with the strong woman's movement in England, have gone far to break down this prejudice of the workers and even the communists attended my meetings in large numbers.

News of a similar keen interest in birth control in Asiatic countries is continually reaching me. In India, the movement has already assumed dimensions which make it of national importance, and the Japanese government has sent officials here to study the subject, recognizing that it is for that over-crowded island empire a choice between birth control or a war of aggression within thirty years.

In the United States, our movement struggles under the enormous handicap of state laws which place scientific birth control information in the category of the obscene and punish by \$1,000 fine or a year in prison the giving of oral or written information on the subject, in addition to the federal law which imposes a \$5,000 fine and five years in prison for sending such information through the mails. Until these laws are repealed, it is impossible to establish clinics, or to give such information in any way to the thousands of women clamoring for it, without risking a prison sentence. Thirty-five women have so far gone to jail in their efforts to perform this service for their fellow women.

It is evident, therefore, that the movement is already an international one, as the population question must necessarily be. Some of the ablest statesmen and economists of Europe are now awake to the tremendous significance of over-breeding and to its relation to the great world evils of child labor, unemployment, poverty and war. Until it is scientifically and openly considered, they contend, there can never be a real league of nations.

The time is now ripe, therefore, for the women of all nations to demand the right of conscious voluntary control of the birth rate through the prevention of conception, and to insist upon the placing in their hands of the best scientific knowledge on this subject.

Fortunately, the women of the world are now stepping into government as fully enfranchised citizens, with the power to demand their rights. A few of us, a small handful, in fact, have been holding the fort until women had the vote and their energies could be released to attack this tremendous subject. If, in our own country, one-tenth of the energy which has been used to win the franchise would be used to attack the fossilized birth control laws on the statute books, it would be only a few years until the women of the United States would have the fundamental freedom which underlies all others, power to control their own bodies.

A New Legal Attack

(Continued from page 304)

The following is the argument in more detail as presented by the attorney for the anti-suffragists:

That the so-called Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, under and by virtue of which the said Board of Registry claim to exercise the right to admit said persons to the

registry of voters, is not in fact or in law part of the Constitution of the United States, and is not in force and virtue within the State of Maryland for the following reasons:

(1) The said alleged amendment to the United States Constitution is not such an amendment as the Congress is authorized by Article V of the Constitution of the United States to propose to the legislatures of the several states, but is outside of the scope and purpose of the amending power conferred upon Congress by said article, as is more fully set forth in the resolution of the General Assembly of Maryland rejecting and refusing to ratify the said amendment at the January session of 1920. . . .

(2) That the said alleged Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States was never in fact ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the states now composing the United States of America, the proclamation dated August 26, 1920, by the Honorable Bainbridge Colby, Secretary of State of the United States, to the contrary notwithstanding.

(a) Because of the fact that it was not ratified by the Legislature of the State of West Virginia, but on the contrary was defeated and rejected by the said Legislature.

(b) And because, although the Legislature of the State of Missouri undertook to pass a resolution ratifying the said measure, nevertheless it was forbidden to do so by the following provision of the Constitution of the State of Missouri:

"Article II, Section 3. We declare that Missouri is a free and independent state, subject only to the Constitution of the United States; and as the preservation of the states and the maintenance of their governments are necessary to an indestructible Union, and were intended to coexist with it, the legislature is not authorized to adopt nor will the people of this state ever assent to any amendment or change to the Constitution of the United States which may in any wise impair the right of local self-government. . . ."

And your petitioners are advised, and therefore charge, that this provision of the Constitution of the State of Missouri in nowise conflicts with any provision or part or purposes of the Constitution of the United States. That Article V of the Constitution of the United States confers upon the State of Missouri, as upon every other state in the Union, the power, acting through its legislature or through a convention called for the purpose, to cast one vote in favor of the ratification of any amendment proposed by the Congress of the United States, and declares that when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the states or by such convention in three-fourths of the states, such proposed amendment shall become a part of the Constitution of the United States. But Article V of the Constitution of the United States does not impose or purport to impose any duty upon a state to exercise this privilege, either through its legislature or its conventions. On the contrary, each state is left free to determine "when" this privilege shall be exercised by its legislature or conventions, and the people of Missouri in adopting said provision of their Constitution have chosen to say that so far as regards such proposed amendments as "may in any wise impair the right of local self-government belonging to the people of this state" it shall not be exercised at all. . . .

That therefore the action of the Legislature of the State of Missouri in undertaking to ratify the so-called Nineteenth Amendment was and is utterly void and of non-effect.

(c) And because the Legislature of the State of Tennessee, being a body created under and in pursuance of the Constitution of the said state and subject to the limitations therein expressed, undertook to act upon resolution purporting to ratify the said alleged Nineteenth Amendment, yet its action in the premises was null and void for the reason that the members of the said legislature were elected prior to the submission of the said amendment by Congress to the legislatures of the several states, and therefore by the provisions of the Constitution of the State of Tennessee, the said existing legislature was prohibited from acting upon the said alleged amendment. The provision of said Constitution being as follows:

"No convention or general assembly shall act upon any amendment of the Constitution of the United States proposed by Congress to the several states unless such convention or assembly shall have been elected after such amendment has been submitted. . . ."

IV. And your petitioners further show that in a number of the states of the American Union, including the States of Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Arkansas, Maine, New Hampshire, Ohio, Iowa, Nebraska, Missouri, Texas, Kentucky and others, the people have seen fit to provide in their state Constitution that the rights and duties pertaining to the elective franchise shall be limited to men. In these states the people have also provided that no changes should be made in their state Constitution by any act or resolution of their state legislature and have thereby in effect forbidden their said respective state legislatures to vote for the ratification of any proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States which would have the effect of abolishing or changing the Constitution of the state.

Wherefore, your petitioners are advised, and therefore charge, that the action of the legislatures of said above-mentioned states in undertaking to ratify said Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the U. S., was and the same are void and of non-effect. . . ."

Women Teachers Demand Three Things

An Interview With Cora McCarty

Vice-President of the Eastern Conference of the American Federation of Teachers

TEACHING is no longer an old maid's profession—a fact which means more than it seems to. It means that a teacher is not thought as “queer” as she was ten years ago and that teaching is less removed from real life.

The woman's movement in the teaching profession has had to battle against a two-headed obstacle. We have had to fight for our rights both as teachers and as women. Instead of being shut out from a lucrative career controlled by men, as was true in most professions, women teachers were shut up in a profession few men cared to enter—a profession, therefore, scorned and underpaid. It has been necessary, first of all, to raise the profession of teaching, and then working within it, to make the position of the great majority of women teachers equal to that of the small minority of men teachers.

The organized effort among classroom teachers themselves to secure due recognition of the work of teaching has taken the form of the American Federation of Teachers, which now has over 10,000 members, both men and women, and is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, though it has adopted a non-strike policy. “Democracy in Education, Education for Democracy,” is its slogan; or better, because of what it implies by way of necessary revolution in things educational, its battle cry.

The first effort of the Federation toward bringing about democracy in education is to win a minimum salary for teachers; its second effort is to secure for classroom teachers direct participation in school control. In many places the contest centers on adequate salaries; in some it is concerned chiefly with gaining a voice in the direction of school policies, the selection of school personnel and the determination of tenure of office, all of which are necessary if there is to be freedom of thought on the part of the teachers.

To carry out the second part of its program and make education for democracy possible, the Federation advocates many concrete reforms—smaller classes, proper vocational training, playgrounds for all alike, adequate medical inspection, free textbooks and the establishment of a federal department of education to raise standards of education, giving equal opportunities to rural and city schools.

The fact is, however, that education for democracy can never be a reality until there is democracy in education. Until teachers have a share in democracy they cannot impart it; until they are able to control and direct their own lives, they cannot prepare their pupils for life. For years teachers lived in their classrooms. Life passed by as re-

motely as in the mirror of the Lady of Shalott. The Federation of Teachers, through its activities, is now bringing teachers into contact with life, and what they gain their pupils gain. So much for the teacher as teacher.

The woman teacher has her own problems and program—a program which the men, as well as the women, of the Federation support.

Women are contending for three things in the teaching profession: the right of a married woman to teach, the right of equal pay, and equal advancement to positions of authority—that is, an opportunity for equal influence in the control of school affairs. At present, in spite of the very large proportion of women, practically all positions of influence are held by men. It is not only within the schools that women have been denied their due share of control; in the majority of cities they have unequal representation on school boards.

The right of the married woman to teach, which is so important from the point of view of having mature, experienced teachers, as well as from the woman's rights point of view, has been granted in enough cities and states so that the stigma of “old maid” is removed from the teacher.

The principle of equal pay for men and women is rapidly being accepted everywhere, though it may yet mean local fights, such as the current one in Philadelphia, where women are now bitterly attacking the injustice of a maximum salary of \$3,000 for men and \$2,000 for women. In a few cases, largely because of the opposition of men teachers to equal pay, it has been necessary

for the Federation of Teachers to organize women's locals.

But the discrimination most difficult for the woman teacher to overcome is the tendency to exclude her from positions of authority. The fact that practically all the higher positions—and this is true of the colleges as well as of the public schools—are filled from the very small minority of men in the teaching force makes it incredible that the choice is based on ability, and proves it a sex inequality. This condition will not be remedied until women have equal representation on boards of education and until teachers themselves have a voice in the choice of their superiors. It will, indeed, not be definitely remedied until a strong feminist movement has eliminated the tradition of the inferiority of women. The elevation of a few individuals must not content us, though their elevation is the symbol of the united power of women. It is the equality and freedom of all women everywhere that is important. This alone will make the “rights” of women secure in any one field. **F. B. B.**

DECEMBER 5-11—SCHOOL WEEK

As a part of the nation-wide campaign for the improvement of the schools and other agencies of education, including larger appropriations for the pay of teachers and for buildings and equipment, the Commissioner of Education is designating the first full week in December as “school week.” He has requested the governors and the chief school officers of the states to disseminate among the people accurate information in regard to the conditions and needs of the schools, enhance appreciation of the value of education, and create such interest as will result in better opportunities for education and larger appropriations for schools of all kinds.

Commissioner Claxton, pointing out the great need for improvement of our school system, stated recently: “Unless salaries are raised and policies changed the teachers of the public schools in the future will be men and women of very mediocre ability, serving in the schools for short terms. This means deterioration and disintegration of the public school system. The only salvation against it is to increase salaries to such an extent as will induce young men and women of ability to prepare themselves for teaching, and then adopt a policy by which they may be kept in the schools.

“But money alone will not enable us to obtain good teachers for the schools in sufficient numbers. There must be more normal schools. If all the persons ever graduated from any normal school in the United States were living and all teaching, there would still be need of 110,000 teachers. The graduates of last spring are only sufficient to supply about twenty percent of the teachers needed to fill the vacancies in the elementary schools this fall.”

Women in the News



Mary Holland Kinkaid, with two associates, Katherine S. Brown and Glenna Smith Tinnin, has organized a business enterprise unique in its object and in its backing. The Washington Theatre Productions, Incorporated, has a founders' association of one hundred women who have become financially independent through their own efforts. Thus backed, the directors of the company, all of them with several years' practical experience in the theatrical business, have organized a repertory company to present good plays of every sort on a circuit embracing large cities around Washington, and ultimately to build up in the capital a national center of dramatic art, including a children's theatre. The company's first play, *Heigh-Ho*, opened in Baltimore on November 15th.



For a year Inez Haynes Irwin has laid aside her own work of writing the history of her time in short stories and in novels, to chronicle the events in the stirring eight-year campaign of the National Woman's Party. Mrs. Irwin says that tracing the development of the political strategy of the Party, step by step, has been a complete political education. Her book will be published before the February convention of the Woman's Party.



Women, children, Indians and soldiers—the interests of these, according to her own statement—are to be the chief concern of Representative Alice M. Robertson, of Oklahoma, while she is in Congress. The first two are her "native" duties, the last two her hobbies.

Miss Robertson was the founder of the boarding school for Indian girls which later became Henry Kendall College, one of the leading educational institutions of the Middle West.

The First "Woman's Rights" Convention

Progress can be visualized only by looking backward. Springing from the roots of a tiny meeting in a church at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848, came the strong and vigorous movement whose triumph the women of this generation will celebrate in national convention in Washington next February. Seen against the background of its times, that Seneca Falls meeting is, perhaps, the most notable gathering of women in the history of the world, a heritage of which the women, politically free, who meet to consider their complete enfranchisement, may well be proud.

EIGHTY years ago two ladies walked arm in arm down a London street discussing 'their exclusion from a world convention called to consider the slavery of black men.

Women were not wanted in such gatherings, its leaders had stated, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott were pushed behind the gallery rail to sit as spectators of a convention they had traveled three thousand miles to attend.

It was then, it is reported, that the daring scheme was formulated for the first "woman's rights convention" ever held in the world, a scheme which eight years later, in 1848, bore fruit in a modest gathering at Seneca Falls, New York, to "discuss the social, civil, and religious condition of women."

At this meeting was formulated the first Magna Carta of the woman movement, and foundations laid for the triumphant convention of women voters to meet in Washington next February.

Women living in an age of conventions and public meetings of every variety, in which women take strenuous part, find it hard to realize what an extraordinary idea the world of 1848 considered a public gathering of women not in the nature of a sewing circle. Blue stockings, amazons, sour old maids, were some of the pleasantest terms bestowed upon the organizers of the Seneca Falls convention, and even their immediate families expressed horror and amazement at so unnatural an undertaking.

The father of Mrs. Stanton, Judge Cady, upon hearing of the meeting, journeyed to her in alarm, fearing that her brilliant brain had been turned.

"I wish you had waited," he said, "until I was under the sod before you had done this foolish thing."

The public attitude toward these daring women, based upon the legal status of women at that time, which in turn reflected the old English Common Law in considering a woman inferior in every respect to a man, may be judged by this sentiment from the Philadelphia *Public Ledger and Transcript* of that period:

"A woman is nobody. A wife is everything. A pretty girl is equal to 10,000 men and a mother is next to God, all powerful. . . . The ladies of Philadelphia, therefore, under the influence of the most serious 'sober second



From *Godey's Lady Book*

The fashionable lady of 1848

thought,' are resolved to maintain their rights as Wives, Belles, Virgins and Mothers, and not as Women."

Yet it was just the impossibility of securing their rights as wives and mothers, until they had established their rights as women, which prompted the calling of the Seneca Falls convention by Mrs. Mott, Mrs. Stanton and a small group of their friends.

Until 1848, the year of the convention, wives and mothers were denied the right to hold property, had not even control over their own earnings, were not the legal guardians of their children and were subjected in every way to the authority of their husbands, who might legally chastise them or punish them, provided only that they did not endanger their lives or health.

Mrs. Emily Collins, one of the suffrage pioneers, tells of a man in her neighborhood who was a Methodist class leader and esteemed a worthy citizen, who every few weeks gave his wife a beating with a horse-whip. He said it was necessary in order to keep her in subjection and because she scolded so much. This wife, says Mrs. Collins, not only washed, dressed, fed and cared for six or seven small children, but also did the spinning and weaving for the family, milked the cows, made butter and cheese, cooked, washed, and mended in between the birth of her numerous babies—yet she was whipped by her pious husband, "because she scolded."

These wives and mothers, however degraded their legal position, form the fortunate side of the picture of women's status during the early nineteenth century. Far more terrible was the plight of the woman forced to support herself and perhaps several dependents. One of the topics for discussion at the convention was the situation of the working woman who, not allowed to secure education or training for anything else, was forced either to sew or to cook for the most miserable pittance. The average wage for seamstresses was reported to the convention as being from 31 cents to 38 cents a day, out of which they had to pay \$1.25 to \$1.50 per week for board. Thousands of women were working under these desperate conditions.

But the injustice which ranked most sharply in the minds of the women responsible for the Seneca Falls meeting was the monopoly by men of the leadership in movements for moral and spiritual reform. Hardly a woman who attended the meeting who had not worked long and arduously for the temperance or the abolition movement or for some other reform dear to her heart and who had not experienced opposition and even personal insult, from men ostensibly working toward the same ends.

For instance, a "pastoral letter of the General Association of Massachusetts to the churches under their care," written in 1837, invites their intention "to the dangers which at present seem to threaten the female character with widespread and permanent injury."

"We appreciate the unostentatious prayers and efforts of women in advancing the cause of religion at home and abroad; in Sabbath schools; in leading religious inquirers to the pastors for instructions," says this clerical bull, but sadly adds:

"We cannot but regard the mistaken conduct of those who encourage females to bear an obtrusive and ostentatious part in measures of reform, and countenance any



Elizabeth Cady Stanton, prime mover
in the 1848 convention

of that sex who so far forget themselves as to itinerate in the character of public lecturers and teachers."

Out of the background of its times, therefore, the Seneca Falls convention gleams as a startling ray of light and yet proves its close connection with its own day and generation by many amusing little instances.

When the women responsible for issuing the call to meet reached the Wesleyan church at which the convention was to be held, they found the door locked. It was necessary, therefore, to accept the services of a young man, who was lifted through an open window and then unlocked the door. When the women entered the church they found that a number of men were already in the audience in spite of the fact that it had been decided to have no men present. It was then decided in a hasty council around the altar that the men should be called upon to make themselves useful, and James Mott was elected to the post which no woman dared yet to hold, that of chairman of "A Woman's Rights Convention."

"The declaration of sentiments" which outlined women's grievances and the resolutions proposing remedies which were adopted by the meeting reflect very clearly the preoccupation of the leading women of that day with reform movements. "The monopoly of the pulpit" and of the lecture platforms by men was bitterly attacked again and again.

The resolutions are broad enough, however, to include the other abuses suffered by women as wives, mothers, workers and citizens.

Equal participation for women in the trades, professions and commerce, a single moral standard for men and women, reform of the marriage laws were among the changes ad-

The Seneca Falls Resolutions in Brief

Resolved, That such laws as conflict, in any way, with the true and substantial happiness of woman, are contrary to the great precept of nature and of no validity, for this is "superior in obligation to any other."

Resolved, That all laws which prevent woman from occupying such a station in society as her conscience shall dictate, or which place her in a position inferior to that of man, are contrary to the great precept of nature and therefore of no force or authority.

Resolved, That woman is man's equal—was intended to be so by the Creator, and the highest good of the race demands that she should be recognized as such.

Resolved, That the women of this country ought to be enlightened in regard to the laws under which they live, that they

may no longer publish their degradation by declaring themselves satisfied with their present position, nor their ignorance, by asserting that they have all the rights they want.

Resolved, That inasmuch as man, while claiming for himself intellectual superiority, does accord to woman moral superiority, it is preeminently his duty to encourage her to speak and teach, as she has an opportunity, in all religious assemblies.

Resolved, That the same amount of virtue, delicacy, and refinement of behavior that is required of woman in the social state, should also be required of man, and the same transgressions should be visited with equal severity on both man and woman.

Resolved, That the objection of indelicacy and impropriety, which is so often brought against woman when she addresses a public audience, comes with a very ill-grace from those who encourage, by their attendance, her appearance on the stage, in the concert, or in feats of the circus.

Resolved, That it is the duty of the women of this country to secure to themselves their sacred right to the elective franchise.

Resolved, That the equality of human rights results necessarily from the fact of the identity of the race in capabilities and responsibilities.

Resolved, That the speedy success of our cause depends upon the zealous and untiring efforts of both men and women, for the overthrow of the monopoly of the pulpit, and for the securing to woman an equal participation with men in the various trades, professions and commerce.



Lucretia Mott, Quaker preacher and temperance leader, also a convention leader

vocated at Seneca Falls. The position of the working woman received recognition in a resolution urging those who believed the "laboring classes of women" oppressed to do all in their power to raise their wages, beginning with their own servants.

Of all the twelve resolutions submitted to the Seneca Falls convention, only one failed to pass unanimously. That one was the demand for the vote, carried only by a small majority, after an eloquent appeal by Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

"Those who took part in the debate," explains "The History of Woman Suffrage," "feared a demand for the right to vote would defeat others that they deemed more rational, and make the whole movement ridiculous."

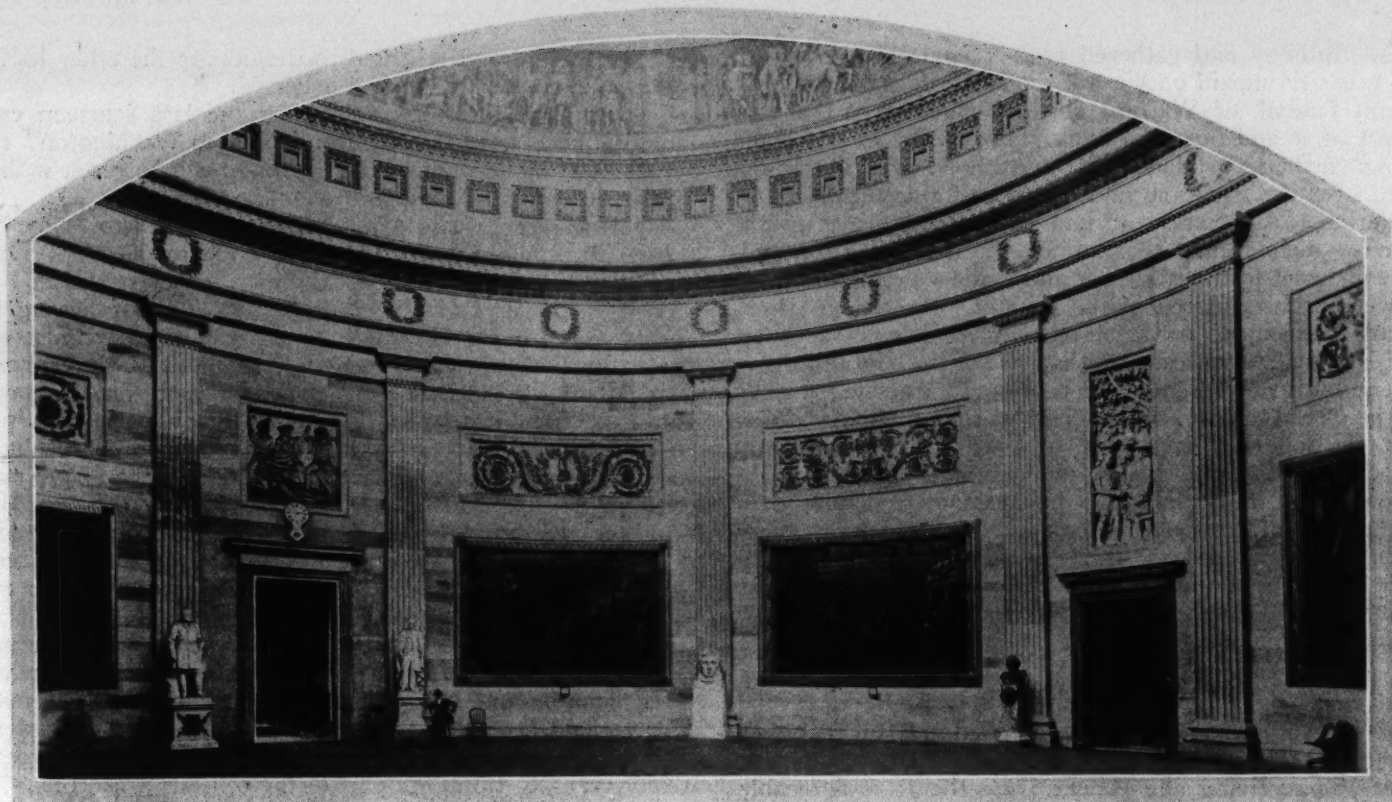
Time has reversed the judgment of these pioneer women in regard to the vote, and their descendants, meeting seventy-three years later, will celebrate the fact that the demand for woman suffrage has been made rational by success.

Though the 1921 "woman's bill of rights" may differ in particulars from that early one in 1848, it is certain that no more far-reaching declaration of faith in women could be formulated today than is contained in these sentences from the Seneca Falls resolutions:

"Such laws as conflict in any way with the true and substantial happiness of women are contrary to the great precept of nature and of no validity, for this is 'superior in obligation to any other.'"

"All laws which prevent woman from occupying such a station in society as her conscience shall dictate, or which place her in a position inferior to that of man, are contrary to the great precept of nature, and, therefore, of no force or authority."

E. T. M.



The rotunda of the Capitol, where the statues of the suffrage pioneers will be placed by the Woman's Party as a lasting memorial to the work of women for women.

The History of the Suffrage Statues

By Ida Husted Harper

THE older suffragists of the country will hear with pleasure that the famous busts of Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, made by Mrs. Adelaide Johnson, are at last to occupy an honored place in the Capitol at Washington.

There has been a great deal of misinformation and misunderstanding in regard to these busts. The facts in the fewest possible words are these: When Miss Anthony used to go to Washington every winter to prepare for the National Suffrage Convention, among the young women there who always came to her assistance was Mrs. Johnson, who was then beginning her work as a sculptor. She was very desirous of making a bust of Miss Anthony and it was finally decided that this should be done and it should be exhibited at the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893. Miss Anthony, as was characteristic of her, insisted that the busts of her co-workers, Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, should be made at the same time. The entire matter was taken in charge by a self-constituted committee of three—Mrs. Jane H. Spofford, whose husband for many years had been the manager of the Riggs House in Washington, always the headquarters of the conventions; Mrs. Henrietta Banker, of New York, a woman of means and an ardent suffragist, and Mrs. Jean Brooks Greenleaf, of Rochester, N. Y., whose husband was a member of Congress, and who, like his wife, had always given loyal support to Miss Anthony and her cause. Mrs. Greenleaf was president of the New York State Suffrage Association. Mrs. Mott was not living, but Mrs. Stanton went to Miss Anthony's home in Rochester for the sittings.

The committee agreed to raise the money to send Mrs. Johnson to Rome and to arrange that at the close of the Exposition the marbles should be placed in the Capitol at Washington. Mrs. Johnson and this committee made a contract to this effect; one thousand dollars was to be paid when she started to Rome, one thousand when the work

was completed and one thousand when it was delivered at the Capitol. At no time were there any other parties to this contract and the National American Woman Suffrage Association was never connected with it in any way. This was by no means a sufficient amount of money for the work, but neither the committee nor Mrs. Johnson realized it. She went to Rome, completed her task and brought the three busts to New York, but by this time the first two thousand dollars were entirely exhausted. Miss Anthony advanced the money to send them to Chicago and Mrs. Johnson returned it to her in a very short time.

The busts were exhibited in the Woman's Building and were admired by thousands during the Exposition. When it was over they had to be sent to Washington. The moving of sculpture is very expensive and Mrs. Johnson had not the funds with which to send them there. This committee and Miss Anthony had collected by private subscription the first two thousand dollars and had in hand about three hundred of the third thousand. As it was supposed that it would not be long before the busts were placed in the Capitol, they advanced this money. The busts were exhibited at Mrs. Johnson's studio in Washington and moved about from place to place until \$325 altogether had been expended. Mr. and Mrs. Spofford left Washington to make their home in Maine and there was no one to do the strenuous work that would be necessary to get the busts in the Capitol. Everybody seemed to think that they would not be accepted, and, so far as can be learned, the committee did not make inquiries on this point before going into the contract with Mrs. Johnson. No one else was authorized to act and when she gave up her studio and removed to New York, she placed the busts in the Corcoran Gallery in Washington and they were there for many years as a loan. Finally the space was needed and Mrs. Johnson put them in storage where they have remained to this day at her expense.

Miss Anthony had gathered from friends about half of what was still unpaid on the last thousand dollars, and Mrs. William Tindall, of Washington, had collected in that city the rest of it and put it in bank. The years went by and nothing further was done. Miss Anthony was much distressed over the situation, and because of this the board of the National Association at intervals would bring up the subject at their annual conventions for discussion, but nobody ever went to the root of it and made a decided attempt to have the busts placed in the Capitol. At various times demands were made on Mrs. Johnson to deliver the busts to the National Association, but it had not the slightest claim on them and in those days had no headquarters where they could be placed temporarily, if she had been willing to allow this to be done. A great deal of hard feeling sprang up and the matter became one of unpleasant controversy. At one convention in Washington the busts were displayed in a beautifully draped private box at the theater by Miss Anthony's wish, and Mrs. Johnson undertook to present a written report of the transaction. It was long and she was not permitted to finish it. The busts went back to storage and no further action was taken.

Period of Inaction

As Miss Anthony grew old she worried a great deal over this matter. Mrs. Johnson was paying storage on the busts; nobody was receiving any benefit from them; disagreeable and incorrect stories were circulated and ill-feeling increased among the members of the National Association, who did not understand that it had no authority whatever to ask for the delivery of the busts. Meanwhile Mrs. Banker and Mrs. Spofford died and Mrs. Greenleaf was growing old. At her death no one would have authority to pay over the remainder of the money and arrange for placing the busts in the Capitol, if this should be possible. I had long been disturbed over the affair, but never had taken the slightest part in it. Now I asked Mrs. Greenleaf to give me power of attorney to act after she had passed away, which she gladly did, having it made out in proper legal form. I think this was in 1904, but am not sure.

After receiving this power I then took the first step that ever had been directly made to ascertain whether the busts would be accepted by Congress for the Capitol. I learned that the proper person to consult was the chairman of the Library Committee of Congress, who at that time was Representative Samuel W. McCall, of Massachusetts. In my interview with him he said he was a suffragist and that he would like very much to have the marbles placed in the Capitol, but that it would be absolutely useless to make the attempt at that time. He said, however, he had no doubt that after the Federal Amendment had been adopted and the women of the country enfranchised there would be no difficulty about securing their acceptance by Congress.

After Miss Anthony's Death

In 1906 Miss Anthony died and left the part of the bust fund which she had collected in the custody of the official board of the National Association, to be paid to Mrs. Johnson if the time ever should come when the terms of the contract could be fulfilled. The association by this time had established headquarters in the basement of the court house at Warren, Ohio, the home of Mrs. Upton, the national treasurer. The board made a formal request of Mrs. Johnson to deliver the busts at those headquarters and the money would be paid to her. As the National Association was not a party to the contract, and as this called for their delivery at the Capitol in Washington, and as they were made with the distinct understanding that they were to be placed there, she naturally and properly refused to send them to the headquarters in Warren, Ohio. The money was then turned into the national treasury. When Mrs. Tindall learned of this she thought that everything connected with the matter

was at an end and returned to the donors the other half of the payment which she had collected.

There the matter has rested for the last fourteen years and the busts have remained in storage in Washington. This is as exact an account of the matter as can be given without going into endless details.

During recent years Mrs. Johnson returned to Rome and made three more busts from the same models, but vastly improved, and put them on exhibition in her studio in New York. I never had given up the intention of having the busts placed in the Capitol, but had felt that they must wait until the Federal Amendment was adopted. Mrs. Johnson and I both agreed that when the time came these last ones must be used instead of the first. They have been pronounced by all who knew the three women to be absolutely perfect as portraits, and by expert judges to be above criticism as to artistic merit. A replica of the first bust of Miss Anthony was a number of years ago accepted by Sir Purdon Clark and the art committee of the Metropolitan Museum of New York as a gift, and they stated that the other two would also be gladly accepted if presented.

It was my intense desire that these busts should be presented to the Capitol by the old National Association, which Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony founded, but it was made clearly evident that there was no hope of this being done. While Mrs. Johnson was ready, as she had been for nearly thirty years, to fulfill her part of the contract when the other part was carried out, it seemed only just that more money should be raised to pay for the later sculptures. She had never asked to be reimbursed for the large amount paid for storage. Therefore, when Miss Alice Paul requested for her organization, the National Woman's Party, the privilege of financing and accomplishing this important project, I felt that it was my duty, as representing the original committee, to accept the offer.

Mrs. Johnson Completes Her Work in Italy

Mrs. Johnson had long had in mind still further to enhance her work by carving these three busts out of a single piece of marble instead of putting each one on a pedestal, but there seemed no chance of ever securing the funds necessary for so expensive an undertaking. After consultation, Miss Paul and her board agreed not only to raise the money for it but also to have them made in heroic instead of life size. The actual cost, without any compensation to Mrs. Johnson for her work, would be many thousands of dollars, but they believed they would be able to obtain the money from the suffragists of the country, and this they undertook to do. Mrs. Johnson left for Rome the middle of last May to accomplish this gigantic task and instead of bringing the huge block of marble from Carrara to Rome, she went to the quarries there in the mountains to do it. With a force of skilled workmen she has been engaged on it since that time and hopes to have it completed by the beginning of 1921. Assurances have been received from the proper authority that the group will be accepted for the Capitol "if it measures up to the artistic requirements," and there can be no doubt that it will do so. There is no statue of a woman in the Capitol except that of Frances E. Willard.

Those who have seen these exquisite busts do not hesitate to say that this will be the most beautiful and impressive sculpture in the Capitol. It will commemorate for all time what Wendell Phillips termed "the greatest reform ever launched upon the world," and will preserve in imperishable marble the portraits of the three great leaders in the movement to embody this reform in the Federal Constitution. They should be dedicated with the most memorable ceremonies ever seen in that historic building, with the most prominent organizations of women in this and other countries participating, and to this work of art every woman should contribute as a thanks offering for her freedom.

WHAT NEXT?

Women face the future with immense power in their hands. How will they use it? The *Suffragist* has asked women in various fields of activity to answer the question, what shall women do next? What is Your Answer?

From Mrs. Pethick-Lawrence

A Militant Fight for Peace

We sometimes think that the hardest part of our work is over. We sometimes say that we have no need for any militancy now. I am not quite sure that the day will ever come when there is no need of militancy. I mean such militancy as the Woman's Party has used, for you must remember that the woman's movement is the one movement in history where people have struggled for a century for their freedom and yet have never hurt or injured a single human being. We bring our flag of victory into the world unstained by one drop of blood. Militancy as a term in the woman's movement does not mean doing injury to anyone. Militancy simply means knowing what you want and being determined to get it.

I would like to tell you how as recently as March, 1919, women won a victory by militancy in my country. You know that after the armistice was signed in November, 1918, we had great hopes that the worst of the war was over. Especially we hoped that the little children, the perfectly innocent sufferers of the war, would no longer be kept in a starving and dying condition. That hope was not fulfilled. The blockade was continued. We women are determined that whoever suffers for the world's sins, it shall not be the babies. We resolved—we who had fought our suffrage battle and won it—to bring pressure to bear upon the government to lift the blockade and feed the starving children.

Successful Militancy

Through our International League we were in touch with the women of Austria and the women of Germany, as we are with the women of France and with the women of 22 different countries in the world, and those women of Austria had sent us photographs taken in the Austrian hospitals by the Austrian doctors, showing the little skeleton forms of the babies there for whom there was no milk. We took these photographs and we made them into posters, and one Sunday night in March, 1919, fifty women got together and they started out in pairs, one with a parcel of these posters and one with a pot and brush, and between the hours of midnight Sunday and four o'clock on Monday morning they placarded the walls of London city with these pictures so that the people of London might know the result of the policy that was being carried out in their name. One of the women was caught by the police just as she was putting up a poster. She was arrested and was found guilty and was fined. Now, you will never guess what was the offense for which she was found guilty. She was convicted of "exposing indecent pictures to the public." Those indecent pictures are the very pictures which the *Times* and leading London newspapers were publishing when I left England last September, to emphasize an appeal to the general public to raise money to feed these starving children of Austria. The British government is now giving one pound of government money for every pound of money voluntarily raised. Just one more illustration of the fact that if you have the courage to do what you think right, and to say what you know to be true when all the world is against you, some day all the world will come round to your standpoint.

The question before us now that we have the vote is, "What are we going to do with it?" We burst upon the

world, not as enfranchised women in this country or in that, but as an enfranchised sex, as citizens of the world.

Has woman anything of her own to contribute to the general life of the world, or is her vote simply going to be merged in with the mass vote? I believe we bring a special contribution.

Let us go back and examine what were the fundamental principles upon which the woman's movement all the world over was founded. One principle was that of freedom. I mean freedom of the personality, freedom of the human spirit. We were told that women were protected by men. If we had really been protected by men, if men had always legislated for us in the best and most ideal way, we should still have demanded the freedom to live out our own ideals and make our own life. We were tired of being told what was womanly. We wanted to find out for ourselves what was womanly.

Now, I believe that as women come into public life they will bring with them this idea of freedom. I hope that women will not support repressive measures of legislation; I hope they will not bring in laws (and penalties) which will bring more people into the police courts and more people into the prisons. Instead of ruling by police courts and by prisons we want the police courts and the prisons wiped away. We don't believe in prisons. Robert Louis Stevenson once said that most people are trying to make other people good, but there is only one person you need to make good and that is yourself; other people you can make happy. I hope that is going to be our motto. Because, if we make other people happy, incidentally we make them good. Let us keep true to this idea of freedom and not act as though we believed people should be cramped and molded and made to conform to our idea and standard of behavior. Let us stand for freedom, for personal individual growth and development.

The World Menace

The other idea underlying the whole of the woman's movement is the conception of human life as something more sacred than material property.

There is one terrible menace to human life at the present time; I mean the menace of war. We in Europe and we in England are living today under the menace of war. Of the children of Europe 80 per cent are diseased as a result of the war that is over. Twenty-two wars are going on. Any minute these twenty-two little wars may burst out into a world war. We are making poison gas and inventing all sorts of infernal machines and noted militarists are saying that when the next war comes they are going to use bombs that will destroy not only animal life and human life, but vegetable life over an area of many miles. They are saying in the next war bombs will be dropped with disease germs which will wipe out humanity.

Unless this menace can be checked, human life itself will not go on. The people are waking up and are making the discovery that they have the power, if they choose to use it, to protect human beings from this destruction. As you know, only a few weeks ago the workers got together when England was about to send an ultimatum to Russia and formed a unanimous council of action, and they were able to go to the Prime Minister in the name of all the workers and say to him, "have your war if you must, but don't count on the workers to back you, because on the day on which

you declare war the workers on the railroads and in the factories will cease work." And what happened? Why, Mr. Lloyd George, committed though he was to the French diplomats, had to bow to the will of the people and war was not declared.

All down the centuries big business houses have been able to stop a war if that war was not to their interest. Now for the first time the workers of the world have demonstrated their power to stop a war which is not in their interest. War is never in the interest of the worker.

All these things I said to a great audience of Austrian people last July, gathered together in the great Mozart Hall in Salzburg, and at the end of the meeting 200 women remained behind to sign the pledge that in future they will take no part, direct or indirect, in any killing of their fellow men. That is the pledge that women in England are taking, that women in France are taking, and that women here in this country are taking.

Some of the bitterest things that I have had to hear have been the reproaches of young soldiers. Many of them feel that the women have failed them. "We thought our mothers would protect us, but our mothers seemed glad for us to go." We can only reply, "Don't judge us too harshly. We did the very best we knew. We felt that you were going out to do your duty and we had to help you to do it." We didn't know. We had not the higher vision. Now, thank God, we are getting the higher vision. We are coming together from every country, and we find that a mother in Britain feels the same as a mother in Germany. We are beginning to realize that though the individual mother cannot protect her son, all the mothers of the world can protect their children. We must organize ourselves and demand that the nations must find some means of settling their differences other than by the murder of our children.

The Woman's Party is going to have a great convention in February. You will decide what the future of your movement shall be. Whatever you decide as to keeping your political party intact, whatever you decide in regard to other current political questions, I hope that you will decide to come into the Women's International League and join with the women of all the world in demanding immediate and universal disarmament.

From Alice Barrows-Fernandez

Real Education For All Children "When women get the vote, then more time, attention and money will be given to education, for women care more about education than men."

That was one of the statements most often heard before women got the vote. Now we have the vote. Granted that one of the first things we are going to discover is how ineffectual political action for either men or women is at the present time, what are we going to do, what shall we have to do, to make good on that statement?

The first thing women have got to do is to regard education from a statesmanlike standpoint, not from the domestic standpoint.

That means that we have got to see to it that not only our own children get a modern education, but that the majority of children in the nation get a modern education. And it means we have got to take the trouble to find out the facts about what is happening to the majority of children.

The well-to-do woman, when she sends her child out to the park with a nurse, will have to realize that the majority of children in the city haven't nurses to take them to parks; and that the parks are too far away for the children to go to by themselves; and that even if they could all go, there wouldn't be space enough for them to play. In some large cities children haven't as much space for play as a Sing Sing prisoner has cell space. This means that they have to

play on the street with all which that means in precocious education in all the vicious side of city life.

The woman who can afford to send her children to private modern schools, where they may learn by doing things as well as by studying books—this woman will have to realize that the majority of children in her city are sitting in school seats four and five hours a day, with no chance to learn by doing things, with no chance for self-expression, no chance to find out about life by experimenting with it.

Let Children Use Their Hands

The majority of children in this country, after they leave the kindergarten, have no chance to *construct* anything in school. They get no opportunity in school to enter a shop, or laboratory, or a drawing room or a music room. They may get the chance when they reach the seventh grade, but even then only for an hour or two a week. And the majority of children in the country never reach the seventh grade. Someone has said that "curiosity is the root of most mischief, but of all knowledge." In that case, it is at least a source of satisfaction that children are still mischievous in school—otherwise the outlook for the spirit of independent inquiry in this country would be ominous!

Women who can afford to send their children to schools where they can satisfy their interest in mechanics and science, by work in well-equipped laboratories, will have to realize that practically no children get any opportunity for experimental work in science laboratories in the elementary schools. And only 9.5 per cent of all the children in the country ever get to high school. This means that the majority of the coming citizens of the country is kept in ignorance of the subject-matter of modern science, of the methods of scientific inquiry, and their knowledge remains in the possession of the few.

Finally, women have got to realize that, in spite of our pretensions, America has never provided universal free education—that is, education for all children. In only six states is the legal minimum school term nine months; in six states it is eight months; in ten states it is seven months; in nine states it is six months; in four states it is five months; in five states it is four months; in three states it is three months; and in six states there is no legal minimum. Five million children of school age do not go to any school—this not merely during a war shortage of teachers, but regularly.

The United States has the shortest school year of any civilized nation—the shortest school week—the shortest school day.

What can the women do to help this educational situation?

First, they can throw all their power, intelligence and energy into making the country realize the necessity for a vast increase in revenue for public schools.

Only 1 per cent of the annual expenditure of the Federal Government goes for scientific research, education and Government work.

Do We Care as Much for Schools as for Candy?

Fifty-eight per cent of the national budget, according to the Bureau of Standards, is for expenditures arising from recent and previous wars. Twenty-five per cent is for the War and Navy departments. Three per cent is for primary Government functions. Three per cent is for public works. And 1 per cent for research and education.

Nearly 30 times as much money was expended in the United States on luxuries in 1920 as on education.

Seven hundred sixty-three thousand dollars was expended on public education. The total estimated expenditures for luxuries in 1920 was \$22,000,000,000. The amount for "luxurious food," \$5,000,000,000, together with "luxurious services," \$3,000,000,000, comes to \$8,000,000,000, or ten times as much as expended for the education of children in public schools.

As a result of the failure to give adequate financial support to the schools, teachers are leaving the profession in large numbers.

Last winter 18,000 school buildings were closed for lack of teachers. Between 300,000 and 400,000 pupils were deprived of their schooling by this means. Forty-five thousand other schools were able to keep open only by having "makeshift" teachers.

Although salaries have been raised in many cases during the past six months, yet the American public should not be misled by this fact. The majority of teachers still do not get sufficient salary to live on.

A second result of the failure of the country to give adequate financial support to the public schools is that the country is ten years behind in its school building program.

There are not enough school buildings to accommodate the children. In a large number of cases, those that do exist are old, unsanitary, and with no modern equipment.

To meet these needs, two things must be done immediately. First, as I have just pointed out, greater sources of school revenue will have to be discovered if we are to finance the public school system that we say we believe in. There are various alternatives. Either real property will have to be assessed at its full value and taxed at its full value for schools, or there will have to be an income tax, with a certain per cent set aside for school purposes, or an inheritance tax, etc. It is a matter, however, for expert investigation and statesmanlike planning. It has been proposed that a commission of tax experts and educators be appointed to make a study of ways and means of securing adequate revenue for public education in the United States. Such a commission will probably be appointed, and the women of the country should make themselves familiar with the findings of such a commission, and throw themselves heartily into the support of increased revenues for schools.

Second, the women in every city, every town, every district in the country should find out the facts in regard to their own schools, and generously support the school authorities in their present efforts to give better and more modern buildings and equipment to the children of the community.

Every school should have an auditorium, a play ground, a gymnasium, shops, laboratories, drawing and music rooms, cooking rooms, kindergarten rooms. All these advantages can be given to all the children, and at far less cost than is commonly supposed. But that is another story.

The main point of this article is that it is a question whether the school system is going to survive as a public school system for all children.

What are the women going to do about it?

Where Are Ladies?—An Historical Fable That Need Not Be True

From the Archeo-Anthropological Review of June, 4210.

WALKING with my friend, the antiquarian, in the well-preserved ruins of the once famous capitol building in Washington, burned, it will be remembered, early in the twentieth century, I discussed with him the habits of our ancestors, as indicated in their legislative halls.

The important chambers in the building have been restored into very excellent replicas of the ancient seat of the American government. Little ingenuity is required to read into the walls, the statues, the offices, a clear picture of life in the early part of that period, many hundreds of years ago.

Striking among the differences between that time and ours is the apparent large excess of men in the population of that day. Many small evidences of this fact are to be ob-

served, but the most conspicuous is the entire lack of statues or paintings of women. This lack is also to be observed in other government buildings of the period still preserved, and bears out the supposition either that women were comparatively scarce, or that their function was entirely that of beasts of burden, as in still more primitive societies.

There are many famous men of the period in what was known as the Rotunda of the capitol; there are also many men of apparently little renown. All professions are represented, and all states of the union, but only one woman occupies a place there. Nearly effaced letters, deciphered with difficulty, give her name as Frances E. Willard and her state as that of Illinois. She is that Miss Willard whose name, almost alone among women of the time, figures in other records as a leader in some of the sumptuary legislation of the era particularly against the use of a poison much in vogue then, the basis of which was alcohol.

I know that my conclusions in this respect are questioned by the famous historian, Mr. James Adolphus, who claims, on the basis of some ancient books, that this period was one of great struggle among women, and that this struggle was led by a group of great women responsible for much of the later development of the entire sex and its astonishing accomplishments during the past few centuries. It stands to reason, however, that in an age when statues were erected to almost every man whose name survived his age, and to many others whose identity is preserved only by their marble likenesses, that had women during these years stood out for unique accomplishments in the service of their sex, their fellow women would have perpetuated their memory after the manner of the period.—A. P. Q.

The Vote and the Race

(Continued from page 308)

hood must be paid for. Perhaps we may question whether the term, "endowment of motherhood," is the best to indicate this principle. We do not speak of the endowment of generalship or of statesmanship or of the bench or of the priesthood or of medicine when we pay salaries, wages or fees to the men whom we choose to direct our armies, make our laws, administer justice, guide our churches or tend our bodies. We pay these people for the useful work they do. Similarly mothers should be paid.

In the earlier part of this brief article it has been shown, however, that this just, necessary and long overdue reform in economics will not solve all the problems which are posed for us in the present rightful demand for freedom and personal development of the individual woman. It is not for any man to attempt to solve a problem which is woman's and which she alone can solve. Any man may, however, be permitted to remind woman of her supreme importance to the race, which she sometimes appears to forget, rating herself far too lowly in that regard, even when she thinks that she is making high claims for herself. And it may be permitted a man who can never forget that all great nations in history have fallen in their turn, and who believes that decay of parenthood—of which motherhood is the better half—is the mortal disease of nations, to ask here again, most hopefully, however, the question which Walt Whitman, seer of seers, asked nearly half a century ago:

With all thy gifts, America, * * *
Power, wealth, extent, vouchsafed to thee * * *
What if one gift thou lackest? (the ultimate human problem never solving:)
The gift of Perfect Woman fit for thee—
What if that gift of gifts thou lackest?
The towering Feminine of thee?
The beauty, health, completion fit for thee?
The Mothers fit for thee?

Feminism in Foreign Countries

The Woman Movement in Middle Europe

By Katharine Anthony

This is the third of a series of four articles by Miss Anthony on European feminism. The first two dealt with England and the Scandinavian countries; the last will discuss the woman movement in France.

IT is a cherished tradition among us that no German-speaking woman can really be a feminist. The free woman of America has long looked down on the shackled Hausfrau of Germany. It was therefore a little disturbing to our complacency to learn that, in the first elections in which German women voted, 33 women were returned to the National Assembly, 155 to the State Legislatures, and 1,400 to the town councils. Furthermore, nine-tenths of the women citizens went to the polls. In Austria, though the people (now including women also) were too desperately hungry to feel an immense enthusiasm for politics, six women were returned to the National Assembly and twenty-two to the Vienna Council. All

this was not because war and revolution had wrought a sudden change in the slavish nature of the Teutonic female; it was because a vigorous and well-organized feminist movement had existed for many years prior to the war and had done its preparatory work so well. When the new day of the long foretold republics dawned in middle Europe, it found the women well furnished with leaders, with policies, and with ideals of their own.

In Germany especially the feminist movement has attained a high degree of literacy. The women are well orientated in regard to the issues that most concern their sex. There are, and have been for many years, more feminist periodicals published in German than in any other language. The only comprehensive and authoritative hand-book of the international woman movement which is in existence is that produced under the editorship of Helene Lange and Gertrude Baeumer. It is an historical survey in five volumes and represents a co-operative literary effort carried on throughout a period of eleven years. Today the erudite editors of this monumental work are engaged in practical political jobs. Helene Lange, as the senior delegate of Hamburg's first republican chamber, was the president of its opening session, while Gertrude Baeumer occupies a seat in the National Assembly and knits a few feminist stitches here and there into the new German Constitution.

Woman suffrage in Germany has had a curious history. The most vital part of the movement was to be found among the socialists—that is, apparently among men. But a party which numbered among its leaders personalities like Klara Zetkin, Rosa Luxembourg, Lily Braun, and Adelheid Popp could never be regarded

The new German constitution embodies these characteristic demands of Teutonic feminism:

"Men and women have in principle the same rights and duties as citizens.

"Permission to hold public office is granted to all women candidates.

"All laws of exception against women civil or official employees shall be abolished." This law aims to remove the prohibition of marriage which formerly applied to women teachers, postal and telegraph employees.

"Marriage is based on the equal rights of both sexes and is under the special protection of the state.

"Motherhood has a claim on the protection and care of the state.

"Legislation must provide that illegitimate children shall be given the same conditions for their mental, physical and social development as legitimate children."

strictly as a man-made party. A democratic franchise did not exist even for the men, and a woman's league for manhood suffrage was a welcome aid in the wearisome struggle. But to the everlasting credit of the German socialists it must be said that there was never any disposition to ignore the women's claims as, for instance, the radical parties of Switzerland and Belgium have always done and still continue to do. Both the German and the Austrian republics instantly enfranchised the women, while the rest of the world rubbed its eyes at the spectacle of a long-standing political promise so simply, so literally, and so promptly fulfilled.

The thirty-eight women delegates in the German National Assembly represent diverse political groups and antagonistic classes. Yet it often happens that questions on the economic rights of women unite them in common action. With two million surplus women in the country, the need for self-support was never so stringent as at present. Yet women have been deprived of their jobs in the most arbitrary and high-handed manner since the close of the war. In the first flush of their new political rights, they found that their economic rights were being violated as they had not been violated for a hundred years or more. Not since the decay of the guild system—when men invaded women's homes, broke up their tools, and passed laws which fined them heavily if they pursued a craft—have women been so openly and brazenly robbed of the right to work for an honest living.

Behind these economic atrocities lies the sentence of worklessness imposed upon an industrial people by the peace terms. For lack of raw materials, industry stagnates and jobs are ravenously sought. Is it to be wondered at that the men are served first from the sparse supply of wages? That is deeply grounded in custom and tradition. For great numbers of workless women there is no recourse but to emigrate. The door stands open to South America; the great reservoir of the white-slave traffic. In Klara Zetkin's journal, *Die Gleichheit*, the situation is described as ominous. "Promising contracts may be arranged, and the journey undertaken. If the contract proves to be a fraud, and the emigrant finds herself in a house of bad repute, instead of as a governess or domestic servant in a good home, it is too late to protect them from the horrors of this life. There are no German representatives or consuls in South America to protect a young German woman going there."

For lack of American cotton, there are women in the conquered nations who are falling into prostitution. The world is closely knit together. Here is a young girl in an Austrian village, a little "wild" perhaps, but withal steady enough to become a spinner, to look forward to a "good" husband, to receive in time her modest maternity benefit and her little nursing premium as the respectable citizen of a young republic. But the mill is dead, the kitchen hearth is cold, and bread has vanished from the land. And so the spinner that might have been and the law-abiding Hausfrau that she might have settled into is lost to the world and one more Austrian prostitute is added to Seventh Avenue.

Feminism in the German Constitution

Many years ago there was an American woman who coveted a share in the making of a new republican constitution. The privilege which the imagination of Abigail Adams could nobly conceive is actually exercised today by thirty-eight German women. The newly adopted Constitution contains a series of declarations relating to the equality of the sexes and embodying some of the characteristic demands of Teutonic feminism. "Men and women have, in principle, the same rights and duties as citizens. Permission to hold public office is granted to all women candidates. They may, for example, become judges, magistrates, attorney generals, etc." With regard to civil service, the Constitution says that "all laws of exception against women civil or official employes shall be abolished." This particular clause aims to remove the prohibition of marriage which formerly applied to all women teachers, and to postal and telegraph employes.

There are three feminist propositions which stress the claims of women to equality in family life. "Marriage is based on the equal rights of both sexes, and, as the foundation of family life and as the means for the continuation and growth of the nation, is under the special protection of the state." Then follows a statement of the special claim of motherhood. "Motherhood has a claim on the protection and care of the state." The third of the series relates to the redemption of illegitimate children. "Legislation must provide that illegitimate children shall be given the same conditions for their physical, mental and social development as legitimate children are given."

A Victory for Mothers

The final clause embodies the most significant and vital phase of the German woman's movement. The Bund fur Mutterschutz—the League for the Protection of Motherhood—has played a dramatic part in public life for more than fifteen years. It has made a brilliant and courageous fight against the double standard of morality and against the hypocrisy engendered by it. In one quarter, at least, they have won a famous victory. The Castberg law in Norway, which gives to illegitimate children exactly the same rights as legitimate children have, could never have been passed but for the pioneer work of the Bund fur Mutterschutz. This group is now striving to incorporate in the Civil Code of Germany the practical features of the Norwegian law. Already, as we have seen, they have succeeded in writing the principle of equal rights for the illegitimate child into the Constitution of the new German state.

The Mutterschutz movement has never had any especial political or economic coloring. Its leaders have worked largely through literary channels in their effort to influence public sentiment. Helene Stocker, Gabriele Reuter, Grete Meissel-Hess, and Adele Schreiber have made incessant and energetic propaganda through their works. The organization itself was shunned by all the

women's organizations which dated from the nineteenth century. The Mutterschutz group is essentially a twentieth century phenomenon; it could not have survived in any previous era.

Probably few people in Germany realized the extent to which this group of intellectuals had influenced public opinion when the outbreak of war afforded a demonstration. The government at once granted the same support and the same pension to the illegitimate child of a soldier as to stop legitimate children of soldier fathers. This practice ceased with demobilization, but the precedent now exists and is being made the most of. After so many years of close contact with the cruel wastage of death and the ominous shortage of births, a new appreciation of mere human life that is born of woman has come into existence. A new valuation of childhood is shown in the type of legislation which takes precedence over all other types in the program of new Germany. A strong reaction against the old imperial view, which placed wealth above human life, is observable in the belated efforts to reform the educational system, to protect neglected childhood, and to guard maternity from want and unnecessary peril.

The New Emphasis on Human Rights

Luise Zietz, who is a delegate of the Independent-Socialist party, placed the case for the illegitimate child before the National Assembly thus: "My party and myself regard it as a matter of course that the Constitution of the German Republic shall expressly declare that illegitimate children shall have the same rights as legitimate children. The legislative provisions hitherto are a bitter injustice against the child and the mother of the illegitimate child—an injustice which is based on our present property system and on the double moral standard which derives from that."

"The Civil Code says: 'An illegitimate child and its father are not considered as related.' An arbitrary and unnatural stipulation which ranks about with the assertion, 'The earth does not move.' We demand that . . . the illegitimate child shall be entitled to the father's name."

"During the war the same support was promised to the unmarried mothers and their children as to the married ones. And this was only just. It is, then, but consistent that we should now establish a legal foundation for their universal equality."

"A society which upholds this—the old—state of things forgets the boundless gratitude which it owes to all mothers, who, at the risk of their lives, render that supreme service—the maintenance and continuation of the species; who give to mankind in the child the future adult, the future worker, and the future creator."

In the history of the great political revolutions, a new voice has spoken. Nowadays, one often hears comparisons drawn between the French Revolution, the American Revolution, and the German Revolution. They have many things in common and the pessimist is convinced more than ever that history repeats itself. But no National Assembly has ever produced a speech like the speech of Delegate Zietz. Does it mean that, after their long and inscrutable silence, the mothers are at last beginning to speak? If so, it behooves a civilized world to listen.

Newcastle Presbytery in England have decided to delete the words in the Marriage Service wherein wives are enjoined to be in subjection to their husbands. The recently published Prayer Book of the Congregational Union of England also omits the word "obey" from the Marriage Service.

The Woman Movement in Czecho-Slovakia

By Vlasta Stepanova

THE Constitutional Charter of the Czecho-Slovak Republic proclaimed that "no privileges of sex, birth, or profession are admitted."

Czecho-Slovakia has never had any special campaign for woman suffrage, but the women in the Czecho-Slovak Republic not only have the same rights as men, but have already proved themselves able to work and to help to build up the new state and to assure forever its future. This important position of our women is the natural result of the historical development of their education, work and life.

When we look back to the fourteenth century we find among the pupils of John Hus many women who fought for a better spiritual life. We find them later as useful helpers in the army of Husites and the church of Moravian and Czech brothers was the first in the entire world to give women the same rights as men. This spirit of brotherhood and equality could not disappear even under the yoke of the Austrian government, because the Czech women never forgot their national duties. Against the Austrian effort to Germanize our nation stood the Czech mother who sacrificed everything for the sake of her children. She preferred to work hard in order to be able to send her children to a private national school, although in the German state school the children could get shoes, clothes, food and money.

In the last years of the 19th century the Czech women fought with the men for the general right of suffrage even when they knew that Austria never would give women this right. Austria tried rather to abolish the privileges that the historical laws of the kingdom of Bohemia accorded to the Czech women. Austria did not allow the women to have a political women's association nor to be members of an organization for men. But the women did not despair; they never failed in the fight for national and political freedom and they found their reward.

First Woman Deputy in Europe

At the beginning of the 20th century the Czech men elected a woman to the County Diet. This was possible because of the Czech interpretation of the historical laws of the kingdom of Bohemia. This Czech woman deputy was the only woman in all the Austrian County Diets and the first woman deputy in Europe. When the Czech women could not be directly active in political life they tried to prepare the young generation for their future tasks. The first woman's high school in the entire country of Austria was the Czech gymnasium, Minerva, that the Czech women founded in spite of all the obstacles that the Austrian board of education put in their way.

During the war many women were held in Austrian prisons because they helped to organize the Czech revolution against Austria. In the *Atlantic Monthly*, November and December, 1920, are published the letters "From an Austrian Prison," by Dr. Alice G. Masaryk, recent president of the Czecho-Slovak Red Cross, who passed several months in an Austrian jail, and from these letters we can learn much not only about the social condition of Czech women during that time, but also about the souls of Czech women.

But the most important question is: How able did the women, having all rights, prove themselves to be in practical ways?

Very interesting in this regard was the work of women in the first National Assembly, called revolutionary, which was formed by the representatives of different political parties and established October 28, 1918, the day when the independence of Czecho-Slovakia was agreed upon. The foundation of the National Assembly is to be found in the

National Committee which led the national life and revolution against Austria during the war. In this National Committee the women had many important places and it was a woman who had the idea of organizing an economic board which helped our people immensely during the Austrian extortion and took care especially of the food for the children. The women worked on the same basis as the men and they even substituted for men in very important positions.

In the National Assembly were eight women among 269 deputies. The socialist women deputies were the most active. They suggested many new laws concerning social welfare, education, churches, prohibition, and prostitution. Most of these laws have since been published and enforced.

In July, 1919, the National Assembly organized the community elections. According to the statistics given by Miss F. Plaminkova, our well-known pioneer of women's rights, there were 2,746,641 women voters and only 2,302,916 men. That means that 54 per cent of all voters were women. Only 90.4 per cent of the total number of men voters participated in the election, but 92.6 per cent of the women did their duty by voting. We have no official statistics as to how many women have been elected, but according to the private statistics we can say that 12 per cent of the elected persons were women. This number is indeed considerable when we remember that this was the first election in which women could participate. We have three women mayors and some women are vice-mayors.

Women Not Conservative

The influence of women working in the municipalities is striking. The women immediately took care of poor children's education, and of public health. Numerous public baths, food commissions, kindergartens and baby clinics were established within a short time. This work of the women has gained the consideration of everybody.

In the community elections women proved that even the principal objection to woman suffrage—that the women would vote with conservative parties—is not valid. Most of the municipalities are in the hands of progressive and socialist leaders.

When the National Assembly had worked out the Constitution of the Czecho-Slovak republic and organized the election for the parliament in April, 1920, the results of the elections showed that the Czecho-Slovak woman had the right sense of the need of her country. For we see that the progressive and socialistic parties have the majority in the Lower House as well as in the Second Chamber.

According to Miss Plaminkova's statistics, women of other nationalities in Czecho-Slovakia are not so active in political life. In the Lower House the Czecho-Slovak parties have one hundred eighty-nine deputies, among whom are ten women. The German parties have sixty-four men deputies and three women deputies; the Magyars have nine men deputies. In the Second Chamber there are one hundred Czech deputies and one woman; thirty-five German deputies with two women, three Magyars and no women.

It is true that the number of women elected does not adequately represent the number of women voters, but we can explain this by the effort of the voters to elect very expert deputies because we all realize the difficult situation of our country due to the unfinished wars around us.

The women in Czecho-Slovakia have an open way to all fields of political life. First they obtained the right to work in any occupation and to study at any school, and now they have the power to lead and to organize. They did not form any political organization for themselves, but in all political parties there is a woman's committee taking care of women's needs, arousing interest among the women in political matters, and many times publishing special women's magazines.

There are women representatives in all political and government organizations and there is an increasing tendency toward a good cooperation between men and women.

From Foreign Women's Magazines

COMMENT on the winning of municipal suffrage by the women of Belgium is made by *Le Droit des Femmes*, organ of the "Ligue Francaise pour le Droit des Femmes," as follows:

"The principle of woman suffrage, written into article 47 of the new constitution by the Chamber of Deputies, has been approved by the Senate.

"The women having obtained municipal rights, it is probable that they will obtain rapidly from the Chamber of Representatives the law which permits them to take part in the legislative elections.

"French women follow with the greatest interest the suffrage movement in Belgium, primarily because the victory of their Belgian sisters delights them, and also because they know that this victory should have a happy influence upon the French Senate."

Juvenile Courts in London

An organized system of juvenile courts for London is proposed in a bill which has been passed by the House of Lords and which is supported by forward-looking persons who have long hoped for a wiser and more effective method of dealing with young delinquents in the great city.

"A short bill, rather obscure and apparently uninteresting, has just passed through the House of Lords," remarks the *Labour Woman*. "It provides for certain changes in the way in which children's courts in London are to be carried on. It will probably, however, have an influence far beyond the limits of London. It foreshadows for the Metropolis an organized system of children's courts, held apart from the ordinary police courts, and presided over by a stipendiary magistrate (probably chosen from a short list of specially selected men) and two unpaid justices of the peace, of whom one is to be a woman."

Swiss Nationality Law

Provisions of the proposed Swiss law permitting a married woman to retain her own nationality although married to an alien are outlined by the French correspondent of *The International Woman Suffrage News*:

1. The woman who marries a man of foreign nationality keeps the nationality of the country of her birth although adopting the country of her husband.
2. The rights of the woman's nationality, although she does not reside in her own country, remain latent.
3. The circumstances which affect the civil rights of the marriage are governed by the national laws of the husband if the national law is in question, but the woman may demand a divorce in her own country if the laws of her husband's country do not permit it.
4. The woman has the right to adopt her new nationality or to keep her own. The children take the nationality of the father. They have, however, the right to take the nationality of the mother at the age of nineteen years.
5. In case the wife or husband has the intention of becoming naturalized in another country she or he must inform the other party.
6. In case of war the children live with their mother in her country, profiting, up to the age of eighteen, by the advantages accorded to the mother by her nationality.

Danish Housewives Unite

A housewives' association in Denmark in which the forces of poor and rich were united to make for greater efficiency in the home is described by the editor of *The Woman's Leader*, published in London:

"In Denmark there are about 500,000 housewives who expend yearly nearly one thousand million kroner on food alone, and Danish women, who in other branches of women's work are so splendidly organized, started not long ago a Society of Housewives in Copenhagen. This association had the good luck to have a very clever and energetic lady, Mrs. Carla Meyer, as chairman, and in May this year she invited the Lady Mayoresses of fifty-six Danish towns to a Conference in Copenhagen, each accompanied by another housewife as delegate. The chairman sketched the proposed work of the Society of Housewives, and suggested that a society should be started for each of the Danish towns. Once a year the chairmen of the Housewives' Societies will meet in Copenhagen and will discuss questions of common interest to all women who work in the house. At noon each day during the Conference, there were exhibitions and lectures of modern cooking, and an interesting feature of the meeting was that the supposed abyss between the rich and poor classes was bridged, for the housewives' society of workmen's wives and the society which has Mrs. Meyer as chairman were united into one club."

Cheap Homes for England

All foreign magazines are full of the housing problem and *The Vote*, organ of the Women's Freedom League of England, tells of the interesting scheme of Mrs. Oliver Strachey for building earthen houses which will be within reach of the poor. She plans to launch a building company.

"You know, of course, the idea is not a new one," Mrs. Strachey said when interviewed by the representative of *The Vote*. "Earth houses are common in France and Spain, and also in India, but nothing much in the way of actual rammed earth has been attempted in this country before. The nearest approach in the past has been sun-dried bricks, which have been used in several parts of England, and the Dorset 'cob,' compounded of a mixture of clay and straw.

"It is not every kind of earth, however, that is suitable for house-building. Pure clays should always be avoided, as they absorb damp. The best to use is a loamy soil, or one mixed with sand. We are using a mixture of sand and clay at the house I am building at Haslemere. The great point is, of course, the wonderful cheapness of earth as compared with bricks, stone, cement, or concrete, since the earth obtained when digging out the foundation forms the chief part of the house. My own house cost between 700 and 800 pounds, and I am quite proud of the fact that I have saved 200 pounds.

"I am employing women as well as men. The work is well suited to either sex, provided, of course, they are strong and healthy and not suffering from any internal trouble. No particular training is needed either, which is another advantage. Common sense and physical strength, however, are essentials, for the work occupies eight or nine hours daily, and the earth not only has to be shoveled up, but when the second story is reached it has to be thrown up from below."

French Comment on The Suffragist

Le Droit Des Femmes, published in Paris, makes the following interesting reference to the SUFFRAGIST:

"The SUFFRAGIST, organ of the National Woman's Party, celebrates the victory of American women but calls attention, in its editorial, to the fact that the vote does not bring the final and complete enfranchisement of women; they have now the possibility of completing political equality by winning equality in other fields, particularly in economic matters. 'We have consistently emphasized the fact that the ballot should always be considered a means, and never an end.'"

Bills Before Congress

THIS COLUMN WILL SUMMARIZE EACH MONTH THE BILLS CONCERNING WOMEN BEFORE CONGRESS AND REPORT ANY ACTION TAKEN UPON THEM DURING THE CURRENT MONTH.

The short session of the Sixty-sixth Congress, from December to March, will have before it the following women's bills left pending by the adjournment in June.

Enforcement Bill

Introduced last June by Senator Watson (R.), of Indiana and referred to Senate Judiciary Committee. Not yet introduced in the House. Provides penalties for violation of Nineteenth Amendment.

Sheppard-Towner Maternity Bill

Introduced in both houses in 1918, by Senator Sheppard (D.), of Texas, and Representative Towner (R.), of Iowa. Three hearings so far held. Favorably reported by Senate Committee on Public Health and Quarantine. Awaits action by Senate and committee report in House (Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce). Carries appropriation of four million to be used in cooperating with states to promote the care of maternity and infancy.

Mothers' Pension Bill

Introduced by Representative Rhodes (R.), of Missouri. Referred to Committee on Labor. No action taken. Drawn along the lines of state laws providing mothers' pensions, this bill would grant federal aid to mothers with dependent children. Prospects for passage of bill at present session negligible.

Smith-Towner Education Bill

Introduced by Senator Hoke Smith (D.), of Georgia, and Representative Towner (R.), of Iowa. Extensive hearings held. Now before House Committee on Education and Senate Committee on Education and Labor. National Education Association states it will press bill at opening of session, endeavoring to have it placed on calendar and, if possible, brought up for vote. Bill creates federal department of education with appropriation of one hundred millions, to be apportioned among the states to aid in the payment of larger salaries to teachers, removal of illiteracy, and in promoting physical education.

Citizenship Bills

Anthony Bill, introduced by Representative Anthony (R.), of Kansas, now lies buried in the archives of the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. Provides that no distinction shall be made in naturalization because of sex.

Rogers Bill, introduced by Representative Rogers (R.), of Massachusetts, and in the files of the same committee, provides that no American woman shall lose her citizenship by marrying an alien and no alien woman shall acquire citizenship by marrying an American.

Civil Service Bills

Fess Bill, introduced by Representative Fess (R.), of Ohio, is before the House Committee on Reform of the Civil Service. Amends civil service law so that commission shall consist of five persons, at least two of them women.

McLean Bill, introduced by Senator McLean (R.), of Connecticut, is before the Senate Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment. Provides that civil service eligible lists shall not specify sex. Sue S. White.

Women in Industry

Department Conducted by Marie L. Obenauer

A REPORT on a matter of singular moment to women in industry at this time has just been issued by Miss Anderson, Director of the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor. The report gives the results of a recent survey of the courses taken by girls and women in industrial training schools of this country. Courses in dressmaking and millinery were found to have been developed out of all proportion to courses giving instruction in factory occupations, when the numbers of women employed in these shops and factories are considered. It is surprising to learn that so few courses are being given to women in the textile trades and other factory occupations in which women have long been employed in such great numbers. However, a hopeful note is sounded, for excursions into fields of new opportunities for women have been made, chiefly by semi-public schools. Two schools had women enrolled in machine shop work, 1 in blacksmithing, and 6 in automobile mechanics and repair. Cabinet making was taught women in one school, electrical work in two schools, and industrial chemistry in four schools. The Bureau urges especially that women be trained for openings in the metal and wood-working trades in which they have demonstrated their capabilities during and since the war. It has ascertained that public vocational training facilities for such occupations already exist in the cities and states employing the largest number of women in these occupations. These facilities are, however, not being used by women, either because women are not admitted or not encouraged to attend the courses.

The Unemployment Situation

The unemployment situation has developed alarmingly in the past few months, and industries employing large numbers of women are seriously affected. The *Massachusetts Industrial Review* has just published figures obtained from labor unions which indicate that unemployment in the boot and shoe industry in Massachusetts, which in the preceding quarter had been but 3.6 per cent, was 43.9 in July, and that unemployment in the state's textile unions had increased from 3.0 per cent to 11.9 in the same period. Recently the Massachusetts State Department of Labor reported that the unemployment situation in that state is more serious than at any time since 1908. The indications are not only that unemployment has increased in these industries, but that it has spread to other industries throughout the country. In August, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported substantial decreases in employment over July in automobile manufacture, woolen goods, knit goods, men's ready-made clothing and leather manufacture. At the present time many of the men's clothing shops in Greater New York and in Baltimore are not operating at all, or are running on a three-day basis. Automobile factories in Michigan and Ohio are reducing forces. The New York Industrial Commission reports that the upstate knit goods factories, the shoe factories, shirt factories, and the automobile tire and accessories factories are slowing down. Reports from southern industrial centers indicate that cotton mills are operating on a three and four day weekly basis. Production in the woolen mills and shoe shops of New England is far below normal.

Although the United Textile Workers of America in convention assembled demanded a 48-hour week without reduction in wages in all textile industries, the unemployment situation in silk, woolen and cotton factories is forcing employees to accept reductions in wages without protest. In two of the largest Southern cotton mills the employees have unanimously voted to accept a reduction of 25 per cent in the basic rate. Employees of the Lawrence Woolen Mills

have preferred reductions in wage rates to a closing down of the mills.

Wages and Hours in Women's Work

One of the largest manufactories of silk gloves and other silk knit goods has announced that instead of operating on a 44-hour basis as heretofore, it will run 48 hours a week. This decision will affect over 2,000 women and girls.

A large brass manufacturing concern in Connecticut, employing about 3,000 women in its factories, has increased its basic work day from 8½ to 10 hours. The salaries of its office employes have been reduced 10 per cent.

Judge Moses, chairman of the Baltimore Board of Arbitration in the Clothing Trades, has ruled that the worker must cooperate with the employer in introducing efficiency methods. Recently the efficiency experts discovered that one-half day was saved by separating the work of marking cloth from cutting it. As the cutters are working only three days a week at present, they resented having their working time reduced by half a day and brought the matter before the arbitration board for settling disputes between the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and manufacturers.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers, among whom are many women, and the Cleveland Clothing Manufacturers' Association have agreed that the wage scale for the year beginning October 1, 1920, shall be the same as the scale for the year 1919 to 1920, and that the basic work week shall be 44 hours. As in branches of the clothing trades elsewhere, a board of arbitration is vested with the administration of the agreement.

The weekly rates of organized garment workers in Boston increased 86.3 from 1914 to 1920. The increase in the metal and machine trades was 98.9.

Women's Work Depicted in the Movies

"When Women Work" is the title of a two-reel motion picture which has been prepared by the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor. The Bureau is endeavoring to present through this ever-popular medium the desirability of good working conditions from the standpoint of the employer as well as of the employee. Good and bad conditions are contrasted, and the pictures are photographs of actual factory interiors. The picture is not designed for commercial display, but may be used by clubs and organizations which can supply a machine and an operator.

In Other Countries

England

Reports of the British Ministry of Labour indicate a decline in the cotton trade and consequent wide-spread unemployment. Firms in the woolen and worsted trades are working 26 to 40 hours a week. Many operatives in the hosiery and lace trades are out of work, and boot and shoe factories are either closed or working half time. There is said to be a shortage of female labor in the carpet industry, and is still some demand for women weavers in Scotland.

On July 1, 1920, there were 62,367 women holding temporary appointments in government departments, according to a report of the committee which was appointed by the Treasury to consider the appointment of ex-service men to positions in H. M. Civil Service. The formation of substitution committees in every department is recommended by this committee to ascertain in what positions now held by women and non-service men the former soldiers should be placed. It is suggested that self-supporting women should receive the same consideration as non-service men in the matter of retention, and that women who have served in such bodies as the Q. M. A. A. C. should receive equal preference with ex-service men. Men and women of independent means, and married women whose husbands are living are among those who should first be removed.

Women employees of jam factories are registering complaints with their unions that manufacturers are seeking to take advantage of the minimum rate provided for workers under eighteen by discharging older workers and substituting young girls, discharging them as soon as they reach the age of eighteen. As the ruling of the Trade Board provides for the payment of this minimum when the circumstances are such that the case affords a "reasonable prospect of advancement to the maximum rate" paid women workers, the women feel they will find their remedy in insisting that the young girls must be paid the regular woman's rate.

National control of the production and distribution of the milk supply was recommended by the conference of Scottish labor women recently held at Glasgow.

Russia

In her "Travel Diary," running in *The Woman's Worker*, describing a trip through Russia, Margaret Bondfield tells of a visit to Razanski, where a new town is springing up, and the work that women are doing there. She writes: "A number of different industries are carried on, including carpentering, engineering, flour mills, horse breeding, market gardening, etc. Women are employed equally with men in all of the heavy work of the estate. We saw them carrying great planks on their shoulders over most uneven roads. In the tin shop women solderers were sitting around little tables having in the center charcoal fires with exhaust chimney to the roof. It was interesting to note that in the carpenter's shop women were using tools, planes, mitre blocks and saws, and were also hammering nails."

Switzerland

The Central Federal Employment Exchange of Switzerland reports that while more men are applying for work than there are positions to fill, the demand for women workers exceeds the supply. This is explained by the great demand for women and girls for domestic service and for the lower ranks of hotel service. There is much unemployment in the woodworking and metal trades, and among office employees and unskilled workers.

Germany

The *Gewerkschaftliche Frauenzeitung* is authority for the statement that the number of trade union women in Germany, which was but 221,071 before the war, has increased to 1,000,000, approximately.

The Annual Report of German Factory and Mine Inspectors, which was recently published, shows clearly the effect of high wages and good food upon the health of men and women workers even under the strain of war production. Figures are given concerning the varying sickness rate from 1914 to 1918. In 1915, despite the long hours and arduous labor in the war industries, the records of a Dresden factory employing approximately 9,000 men and women showed a decrease in the rate of sickness, while the effects of the blockade are clearly discernible in the steady rise in the per cent incapacitated in 1916, 1917 and 1918. A comparison is given of sickness in metal works and in explosive manufacturing. Women appear to be more susceptible than men to diseases of the digestive and circulatory systems and the rate of sickness among both sexes was higher in explosives works where they were exposed to poisonous chemicals.

Holland

At a meeting of textile manufacturers recently held at Amsterdam, a resolution was passed providing for a gradual reduction of working hours under the labor act of 1919. The week should consist of 51 hours during the first two years and 48 hours in the third and fourth years. In presenting the resolution to the Boards of Labor, the necessity of delay in applying the law to the textile industry was urged.

Books and the Woman

Department Conducted by Alice Henry

JAILED FOR FREEDOM. By Doris Stevens. New York: Boni and Liveright.

THE National Woman's Party has never been in the habit of letting the grass grow under its shoes, and neither have its members. So already, only eighteen months after the June day, in 1919, when Congress handed the Nineteenth Amendment over to the states for ratification, we are welcoming Doris Stevens' "Jailed for Freedom."

It is a history of the militant suffrage movement, from its origin within the National American Woman Suffrage Association, through its career of struggle, but also of steady advance up till that moment of success which crowned with victory the political policies outlined and guided by Alice Paul.

The unique value of the book is as a record of events, written while they were still fresh in memory, written by one who was herself a participant, but who shows herself sufficiently detached to recall these various events with a very sane sense of values. It is the story of a great leader, but it is also the story of the events of six eventful years in the woman movement.

I must not spoil the story by picking out the plums, tracing how policy developed, how rebuffs from high officials led to picketing, how picketing ended in imprisonment and hunger strikes. But how it also ended in the capitulation of Congress, and the victory of today.

Everyone who has been reading *THE SUFFRAGIST* will hurry to buy the book, because it contains so much that *THE SUFFRAGIST* in its modesty and reticence as the organ of the National Woman's Party could never say, or would take the time to say. All non-readers of *THE SUFFRAGIST* will have to buy it, to make up for the defects in their own education. If you ask for pictures, this book is full of them, also reproductions of banners and of the mottoes, gay, ironic, moving and irritating, that at length helped to pry open even the gates—of the White House.

It is touching, too, to be reminded how the Anthony Amendment, a legacy from the last generation, came to form the simple platform, first of the young, energetic group that adopted it as their own, afterwards of every suffragist in the country, and finally the watchword, unchanged by so much as a single comma, that was to enfranchise half the population of our country.

All of us who know Alice Paul will appreciate the singular fidelity with which she is pictured in the opening pages, how relentlessly and with what a single eye she adheres to her objective; how, in her daily association alike with her co-workers and with those outside whom she has to influence, her words and her silences both count.

"I am going recklessly on to tell what I think about Alice Paul. It is difficult, for when I begin to put it down on paper, I realize how little we know about this laconic person, and yet how abundantly we feel her power, her will, and her compelling leadership. In an instant and vivid reaction, I am either congealed or inspired, exhilarated or depressed, sometimes even exasperated, but always moved. I have seen her very presence in headquarters change in the twinkling of an eye the mood of fifty people."

The book closes with a hinted forecast of what may be the next step in woman's self-liberation:

"Our objective was the national enfranchisement of women. A tiny step, you may say. True! But so long as we know that this is but the first step in the long struggle of women for political, economic and social emancipation, we need not be disturbed. If political institutions as we know them today in their discredited condition break down,

and another kind of organization—perhaps industrial—supplants them, women will battle for their place in the new system with as much determination as they have shown in the struggle just ended. * * * To be sure, women have often resented it deeply that so much human energy had to be expended for so simple a right. But whatever disillusionments they have experienced, they have kept their faith in women. And the winning of political power by women will have enormously elevated their status."

A. H.

Woman: A Study

"DITTE: GIRL ALIVE!" By Martin Andersen Nexø. New York: Henry Holt.

In his new sequence of novels, "Ditte: Girl Alive!" the Danish novelist, Martin Andersen Nexø, is evolving a feminine portrait which evidently is meant to be—and is—generic, a typical study of woman which will match his other study of man in "Pelle, the Conqueror." Yet it is only through occasional quaint or whimsical statements or a bit of quiet satire that the larger purposes of the novel become apparent. Throughout this first volume at least his tale is as simple as a child's story. Ditte is the love-child of Sorine, who comes from poor farmer and fisher folk living on a barren coast near Cattegat; in this first book we have her life from the time she comes into the world until she is ready to go into service at sixteen. The early part is charmingly full of her small childish adventures, told with a kind of affectionate gaiety; and it is packed too with a native folklore which comes out through the talk and life of old Maren, Ditte's grandmother, who cares for her until she goes to live with Sorine and Lars Peter, the honest, happy-go-lucky rag and bone man whom Sorine marries. The story narrows from the poverty of old Maren's hut to the greater hardships which come after the crime committed by Sorine, but the sweep of the story appears even when its events are most confined. The tragedy of old Maren is the larger tragedy of age and duty and instinctive feeling, and the decline in courage of Lars Peter is close to the basic failure of his type. But it is in the portrayal of Ditte that the finest qualities of the novel appear. She is restless, happy, perverse, as a child; she grows slowly hardier, more responsible, more adaptive under her heavy responsibilities; and Nexø manages to convey the impression that these are only the beginnings of her life, the first manifestations of a strong and expanding temperament. What makes the novel so extraordinary is that its larger purpose never binds or hampers the story. Throughout Nexø keeps close to the humble life which he is revealing. His portraits of people are all fresh and clear and direct. He achieves the typical, not because he generalizes, but because he plumbs so deep. This first volume is vivid and complete in itself; the full sequence should be notable.

N. C.

A Correction

An error was made in last month's Book Department in reviewing Grace Rohleder's "Woman on the Bench," in stating that the work was accepted by the Washington College of Law as a thesis. Miss Rohleder used some of the subject matter of "Woman on the Bench" in a thesis but the present work is presented to the public for the first time as an informal discussion of a timely subject.

"Main Street"—and Feminism

A Review by the Author's Wife

MAIN STREET. By Sinclair Lewis. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Howe.

If to tell the story of an eager girl who goes from the city, where she has been happily inconspicuous, to live the fish-bowl existence of a doctor's wife in a small middle-western town. If to watch Carol Kennicott trying to fit into the town, join its clubs, act on its library and school boards, create a dramatic association and a new city hall, and fail at all of them. If to see her run away—go on a matrimony strike—and take a job in Washington and live with women who are not afraid to go to jail, and then go back to her husband and the town. If to read that Carol has learned that for the modern reformer cheap success is a disgrace, that the most dangerous and helpful work for wives is to ask questions, disconcerting questions about the home, the factory, the bank, and the owners thereof; and to realize that she has acquired personal solidarity and the power to laugh and be serene—

Then—

Sinclair Lewis, in his new book, "Main Street," has written a feminist novel.

The specialists in economics, those women who have given up father, mother, and children for the love of God—and the vote—are not in need of handbooks of helpful hints on how to conduct themselves in the new world they are creating. It is the Carol Kennicotts, the average women with feebly rebellious souls and fingers begging for a new kind of work, who will find in "Main Street" thoughts which will strengthen their souls.

"Main Street" does not whine nor does it offer panaceas. It just presents. The girl reader, who is standing, vote in hand, at the crossroads marked (according to the feminine ideal of a southern friend of mine) "warm and enticin'" or "linen collar job," will find herself sharing in the struggles of the Carol Kennicott who says:

"Help me to find what has made the darkness of the women. We're all in it, young married women with good, prosperous husbands, and business women, and grandmothers that gad to teas, and wives of underpaid miners, and farmwives who really like to make butter and go to church. What is it we want—and need? Will Kennicott would say that we need lots of children and hard work. But it isn't that. There's the same discontent in women with eight children and one more coming. And you find it in stenographers and wives who scrub, just as much as in girl college-graduates who wonder how they can escape their kind parents.

"I believe we want the same things—we're all together, the industrial workers and the women and the farmers and the negro race and the Asiatic colonies, and even a few of the Respectables. . . . I think we want a more conscious life. We're tired of drudging and sleeping and dying. We're tired of seeing just a few people able to be individualists. We're tired of always deferring hope until the next generation. We're tired of hearing politicians and priests and husbands coax us, 'Be patient. We have plans for a Utopia already made; just give us a bit more time and we'll produce it; trust us; we're wiser than you.' For ten thousand years they've said that. We want our Utopia now and we're going to try our hands at it. All we want is—everything for all of us.'" **Grace Hegger Lewis.**

A Woman's Movement in Java

LETTERS OF A JAVANESE PRINCESS. By Raden Adjeng Kartini. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

It is a moving story which appears in the "Letters of a Javanese Princess." Raden Adjeng Kartini was a pioneer among the women of her people; she succeeded against

heavy obstacles in obtaining for herself and her sisters an unheard-of degree of personal liberty, and her dreams for the liberation of Javanese women raced far beyond any possible accomplishment in her own brief life. With a characteristic directness she felt that the power of self-support was primary if Javanese women were to rise above the degradation in which many of them lived through polygamy and forced marriages. Her hope was to establish vocational schools and teach in one of these herself. In her efforts to obtain permission for further study from her family she was obliged to meet the traditional arguments; she might have been a young Western girl of seventy-five or more years ago pleading for a college education and the right to a career, except that for her there existed a far heavier weight of tradition. She was torn, as many women have been torn, between the prospect of a vocation which they believe to be of the highest social importance and the demands of affection and family duty. In the end, for all her restless thought and rebellion, she did not succeed in her immediate plans. It took her months, even years—for her plans shaped themselves before she was sixteen—to obtain permission to study in Batavia. Then she was detained by her father's illness. Then she married, with the hope of continuing her work with her husband. But she died within a year. She did, however, succeed in setting up a small school for little girls in her father's home, and after her marriage she began a similar project. Through her writings she was able to stimulate the movement toward a greater personal freedom for women, and as a result of the interest she was able to arouse in her special projects, Kartini schools for women are established today in many important centers in Java.

The striking fact is her self-sufficiency as a thinker. She reached her conclusions as to the needs and rights of women almost wholly without support or suggestion, as a young girl in the ritualistic retreat into which Javanese women are forced by parental authority for the years which immediately precede their marriages. Even in this seclusion she was able to see the possible rise of a woman's movement in Java as a part, a necessary part, of a national development. She draws a vivid picture of the Javanese life to which she was born; and she offers penetrating criticism as well as appreciation. There are indirect suggestions, not always happy, of the Dutch rule in Java. There appears the whole shadowy delineation of a native people—as well as of a sex—slowly rising to self-consciousness. Yet the letters remain the intimate letters of an eager, sensitive young woman with little experience, full of hopes and fears and ambitions. They read like a diary.

C. R.

Chesterton on Divorce

THE SUPERSTITION OF DIVORCE. By Gilbert K. Chesterton. New York: John Lane Company.

The very title of any Chesterton book is intriguing, and "The Superstition of Divorce" is no exception. I took it up under no illusion that I was likely to agree with the witty and satirical champion of indissoluble marriage. But I did anticipate admiring the brilliant exercise of his well-known skill in paradox. Indeed, I had sundry misgivings that I might even find myself converted to his ideas—as long as I was reading him. Unfortunately for my entertainment, nothing of this has happened. I am, frankly, bored. By way of argument or illustration, he never gets any further than this, for example:

"Some will retain the conviction that the ancient bridge built between the two great towers of sex is the worthiest of the great works of the earth."

Because one can say "Amen" to that, Mr. Chesterton thinks we can follow him in assuming that all marriages celebrated form such a bridge.

A. H.

All-America Conference on Venereal Diseases

in Washington, December 6-11, under the joint auspices of

U. S. Public Health Service

American Social Hygiene Association

U. S. Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board

American Red Cross

This conference will bring together recognized authorities in their respective fields and especially will make possible a comparison and evaluation of the methods now being employed in various parts of the world for the control of venereal diseases. As far as possible the presentation of set papers will be avoided, it being felt that full and free discussion will be far more helpful to those who attend.

There is no membership fee

For copies of the preliminary program and further information address
Executive Secretary

ALL-AMERICA CONFERENCE ON VENEREAL DISEASES

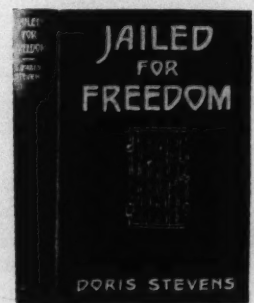
411 18th Street N. W., WASHINGTON, D. C.



JAILED FOR FREEDOM

By DORIS STEVENS

Profusely Illustrated



Do you know that nearly two hundred women went to prison to enfranchise you?

Do you know that they suffered incredible brutalities there?

Read their story in **JAILED FOR FREEDOM** by Doris Stevens.

Buy a copy for yourself. Give it to your friends for Christmas. Present one to your library.

Order direct from the National Woman's Party, 14 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.; the discount will then come to the national treasury. Price \$3.00. Postage 20 cents.

Use this coupon in ordering

Please send me.....copies of **JAILED FOR FREEDOM**, for which find enclosed \$..... (check or money order)

Name..... Street.....

City..... State.....

Red Star Line

SIGHTSEEING

- Tour No. 1 Official and residential Washington.
\$1.00 One hour and twenty minutes.
- Tour No. 2 Interior of government buildings.
\$1.50 Four hours.
- Tour No. 3 National Zoological Park, Historic
\$1.50 Georgetown, Fort Myer, Arlington
and suburbs of Washington. Two
hours and twenty minutes.
- Tour No. 4 Mt. Vernon and historic Alexandria,
\$3.00 Va. Four hours.

Prices include all guide and admittance fees.

These tours are all conducted by competent, well-informed guides, and will start at headquarters of National Woman's Party or at principal starting point of RED STAR LINE, 14th & Pa. Ave. N. W., directly across 14th St. from Willard Hotel. Phone Main 1075.

DELICIOUS MEALS

QUICK SERVICE



*Where once fine horses tossed their manes
And champed their oats and hay
Now daily flock the folk with brains
To eat and talk and play*

Breakfast

Luncheon

Dinner

Afternoon Tea

We Cater to Dinner Parties

Our spacious ballroom may be engaged for dancing, cards, and other social functions

NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

14 Jackson Place
Washington, D. C.

A WELCOME CHRISTMAS GIFT

There's that Christmas gift you can't decide on

Why not send the SUFFRAGIST?

Of course.

It's the very thing for Frances, who has always been interested in politics. Aunt Sue hasn't, but now she's a voter it's different. So is the SUFFRAGIST.

Here's the coupon---now a small check, and that problem's settled.

EVERY LIVE WOMAN SHOULD READ THE SUFFRAGIST

NAME

ADDRESS

NAME OF GIVER

ADDRESS

\$2.00 per year

Gift price: \$1.50 each

THE SUFFRAGIST Circulation Dept. LAFAYETTE SQUARE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Telephone
Melrose 1644

Day and Night
Service

MELROSE Central Registry for Nurses

Graduates and Under-Graduates
Female and Male

*For Private, Office and Institutional Positions
Also Hourly Nursing*

M. WAHN, R. N.
Proprietor

638 Eagle Avenue
Bronx, New York

DEWEY HOTEL

Fourteenth and L Streets N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

"THE HOTEL WITH HOME COMFORTS"

Special Luncheon 12 to 2, 50 cents

Single room with running water, \$2.50 and up.

Double room with running water, \$3.50 and up.

FRANK P. FENWICK, Owner and Manager

LUTZ and COMPANY, Inc. TRUNKS, BAGS and LEATHER GOODS

"OF THE BETTER GRADE"

1325 G STREET

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Scalp treatment our specialty

HARPER METHOD

OFFICES ALL OVER THE WORLD

Westory Building

Washington, D. C.

ENGRAVINGS

THE
NATIONAL ENGRAVING CO.

QUALITY
AND
SERVICE

THAT PRINT
RIGHT FOR
EVERY PURPOSE

1337-1339 F STREET, N.W.

OUR MOTTO

MAIN 2970

REYNOLDS, MARCERON & CO.

COMMERCIAL STATIONERY OFFICE EQUIPMENT
PRINTING—ENGRAVING *Our Specialty*

Rear 1320 F Street N. W.
Washington, D. C.

"WE GIVE YOU SERVICE"

Life
Accident & Health

INSURANCE

Fire
Automobile

HELEN V. BARNHART

with
JOHNSON & ADAMS

Telephone Main 6442

519 Southern Building
Washington, D. C.

HATS

FURS

STINEMETZ

1201 F Street N. W.

Washington, D. C.

Madame Eugenie et Cie

1209 G Street N. W.

Washington, D. C.

New Fall Showing of Corsets at moderate prices

Adapted to all figures. Hosiery, Lingerie

Phone Main 2167

OSTEOPATHS

Drs. Elizabeth and Annie Johnson

GRADUATES OF STILL COLLEGE

THE FARRAGUT
Franklin 7010

THE CHASTLETON
North 9536

PHONE FRANKLIN 7249

BENJAMIN D. FONG, Manager

Far East Tea Garden

Chinese-American Dishes of Excellence

1412 New York Avenue

Washington, D. C.

Phone Main 1558

ACME PRINTING COMPANY

Printers - Stationers - Engravers

1317 New York Avenue

Washington, D. C.

LLOYD E. COOKMAN

A Service Without Cost

The Citizens Employment Service

COOPERATING WITH U. S. EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

Telephone Main 8474

1410 Penna. Ave. N. W.

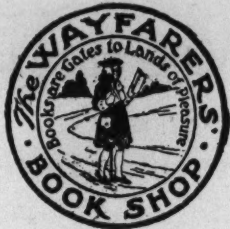
CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

RATES 8 cents per word or initial, including the address or box number, for each insertion, minimum charge, \$1.50

Address Advertising
Department

THE SUFFRAGIST

14 Jackson Place
Washington, D. C.



THE BEST IN THE
NEW BOOKS

"A PLEASANT BOOKSHOP AND
THE BOOKS YOU WISH TO SEE"

1623 H Street
Washington, D. C.

POETRY AND FICTION
ECONOMICS
CHILDREN'S BOOKS

IN BALTIMORE

HUTZLER BROTHERS CO.

**FOR THOSE WHO
WANT THE BEST**

"Perfect Circular Letters"

Consult us about your Multigraphing, Mimeographing,
Typewriting, Printing, Reporting, Mailing

Let us act as your Washington representative. Congressional and Departmental information furnished. References.

CALVERT COMMERCIAL SERVICE
1403 F Street N. W. WASHINGTON, D. C.

Analyses of Character made
Vocations Suggested

Instruction given in Personal Efficiency
Personnel Supervising. Character Analysis

ETHEL SPALDING SLATER

VOCATIONAL ADVISOR

Main 5142

1120 Munsey Building
Baltimore, Md.

209 Munsey Building
Washington, D. C.

Frank R. Jelleff, Inc.
FORMERLY SMOOT & JELLEFF
1216 F STREET N.W.

THE SMART
MILGRIM
TAILORED SUITS AND FROCKS

Are Now Shown in Washington by this Shop—

Also the famous

CENTEMERI KID GLOVES
GOLD STRIPE SILK STOCKINGS

AND OTHER APPAREL AND ACCESSORIES OF THE
BETTER SORT—AT MODERATE COST

Monogram
Stationery

has an added charm as a
gift because of that personal
touch of being made especially
for him or her, and because it
bespeaks of a forethought on the
part of the giver. Orders should
be placed two weeks in advance.

BREWOD
Engravers & Stationers
519 THIRTEENTH ST. N.W.

Marcel Wave

Violet Ray for Scalp and Face

Manicure

GEORGES & EMILE

TELEPHONE MAIN 3579
FOR APPOINTMENTS

920 SEVENTEENTH
STREET NORTHWEST

Cornelison

Telephone, Main 6059

Millinery

1515 H Street Northwest
Washington, D. C.

MAJOR H. ROBB

OPTICIAN

1413 F Street Phone Main 9356 Washington, D. C.

SILK WAISTS

SILK UNDERWEAR

KIMONOS

S. SUZUKI & COMPANY

614 14th Street N. W.

Washington, D. C.



Drawn by Cornelia Barns

"Honest, Addie, I wouldn't laugh.
I don't think it's meant to be funny."

The Liberator, 138 W. 13th Street
New York, N. Y.

I enclose \$1.00. Send me the Liberator for
five months.

Name

Address

Dear Suffragists:

I know you are sick of being asked by every cause and movement, "*Now that you've won the vote, what are you going to do next? Join us!*"

But how can we help it? You are such an intelligent, wide-awake crowd—we all want you. However, I am not asking much—just an acquaintance subscription to a magazine that some of your very own have found worth while.

For instance, Doris Stevens said to me, recently, "*The Liberator will appeal to women who for the moment are feeling relief after the long struggle for political liberty. They will find relaxation in the Liberator's humor, art and poetry, if not in its revolutionary mood.*"

And Lucy Burns writes: "*The Liberator opens a new world of fact and thought to a wide circle throughout America. It is genuinely original and stamped on every page with a fine sense of form.*"

H. G. Wells in a letter to one of our editors said, "*I always read the Liberator with keen interest and admiration.*"

And Pierre Monatte, Editor of *La Vie Ouvrier*, writes, in that great French labor paper, "*I cannot too heartily recommend the Liberator, edited by a group of young men and women, coming for the most part from literary circles, and sincerely committed to revolutionary ideas. It is, I think, the best magazine in existence.*"

The Liberator is edited by Max Eastman, Crystal Eastman, Floyd Dell, Cornelia Barns, Howard Brubaker, Eugene V. Debs, Hugo Gellert, Arturo Giovannitti, Helen Keller, Robert Minor, Boardman Robinson, Maurice Sterne, Louis Untermeyer, Clive Weed, Art Young.

Will you send us a dollar for a five-months subscription?

Yours for more freedom,
Margaret Lane,
Circulation Manager

HOTEL HARRINGTON

Eleventh and E Streets N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

NEW MODERN FIREPROOF
EUROPEAN PLAN

Located in centre of shopping
and theatre district and only
four blocks from White House

*Excellent Restaurant
at Moderate Charges*

HARRINGTON MILLS
President

E. J. BRENNAN
Manager

S. Kann Sons Co.
"THE BUSY CORNER" PENNA. W. 47 & 8 TH. ST.

Guide Lights

TO EASY AND
SATISFACTORY

Christmas Shopping

- Shop early in the day, and early in the month.
- Take small parcels with you.
- If in doubt buy a merchandise certificate.
- Tissue paper, ribbons, and fancy boxes should be secured early.
- BE SURE your address is taken correctly.
- Keep to the right.
- Cash your Christmas Savings Fund cheques here.
- Mail your packages before December 5th.
- Buy Red Cross Stamps.
- Read our daily announcements.